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Palestinians Mourn Nationalist Mayor, Ramallah's Karim Khalaf

On March 30, the day that the Palestinian people celebrate their steadfastness to the land, popular nationalist Mayor Karim Hanna Khalaf, of Ramallah, one of the occupied territories' most prominent spokesmen of Palestinian national rights, died of heart failure. He was rushed from his Jericho home to Maqassad Hospital in Jerusalem but was pronounced dead on arrival.

Less than 24 hours later, an Israeli settler who worked in the neighbouring al-Bireh municipality was shot dead at close range while shopping in the Ramallah-al-Bireh vegetable market. The lone gunman escaped into the crowd. The twin cities were put under immediate curfew and kept closed by soldiers and roadblocks for four days, delaying Khalaf's funeral until Wednesday (see related stories).

Khalaf, 51, was elected mayor of Ramallah in the 1972 elections and again in 1976 when the West Bank voted in solidly PLO municipal councils. Khalaf's love for his people, his city, and his homeland and the personal sacrifices he incurred for his political beliefs made him beloved by Palestinians everywhere. His death on Land Day was seen as an especially poignant symbol of his commitment to the Palestinian cause.

Khalaf's personal style of leadership, his frequent clashes with Israeli authorities, his defence of Palestinian national rights, and his unambiguous sup-

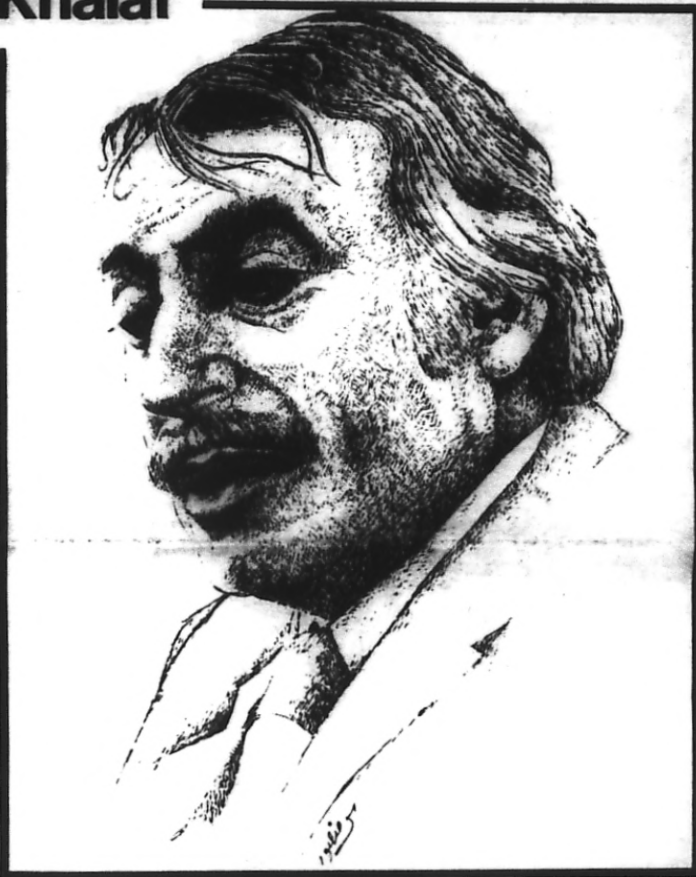
port for the PLO made him the target of attacks by Israeli officials and settlers. During his 10 years as mayor, the Israeli authorities repeatedly called Khalaf in for questioning, arrested him a number of times, and threatened to deport him on three different occasions.

On the morning of June 2, 1980 Karim Khalaf turned on the ignition of his car and detonated a settler's booby-trap. The explosion blew off the lower portion of one of his legs and severely injured the other. After six months of operations and medical treatment abroad, Khalaf returned to a hero's welcome from his hometown, carried on the shoulders of Ramallah residents who hailed him, along with Nabliu Mayor Bassam Shaka'a, as a living symbol of the people's struggle.

In spring 1982 the occupation authorities deposed Khalaf with most West Bank mayors and appointed Israelis to replace them. The popular protest against the removal of the mayors swelled into two months of general uprising in the West Bank and Gaza. Khalaf was further punished by a two-year exile to Jericho.

During Khalaf's tenure the Ramallah municipality launched a large number of ambitious projects and services. Many of the improvements were made possible by Khalaf's personal fund-raising efforts in the Arab world and from the Ramallah Association in the U.S. Khalaf succeeded in twinning Ramallah

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Settler Slain in al-Bireh Market; Army Clamps Curfew on Twin Cities

The Israeli military administration clamped a curfew on the twin cities of Ramallah and al-Bireh following the early afternoon killing of an Israeli settler in al-Bireh marketplace March 31. The shooting sparked a settler vigil and demand for the closure of Bir Zeit University.

Zalman Abulnik, 52, resident of the Givon Hadasha settlement near Ramallah, was shot in the head at close range by an unidentified gunman while shopping in the vegetable market. In Damascus, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) claimed responsibility for the operation. The shooting occurred about 100 metres away from the spot where an Israeli soldier was also shot at close

range last February. Police reports said Abulnik was shot with .22 calibre gun, while a 9 millimetre pistol was used in the previous killing.

Abulnik, a Russian immigrant who had worked as an attorney while in the USSR, arrived in Israel 13 years ago. He was an employee of the Israeli-controlled al-Bireh municipality, which was appointed to replace the elected municipality in 1982, and worked in the traffic department. Mayor Khalaf died of a heart attack the previous day March 30 (see front page story). Abulnik was a member of the settlers' Regional Settlement Council for the West Bank and Gaza.

The Israeli military closed

down the central district of Ramallah and al-Bireh immediately after the shooting and ordered all residents in those areas to stay at home. Merchants fled from the marketplace as the curfew was announced, leaving stands full of produce to rot in the rain. The army arrested tens of Palestinians in the area at the time, gathering them in an open yard in the centre of Ramallah. Some were released after questioning; others are still being held.

Soldiers in groups of six formed human blockades across streets, stopping cars from crossing curfew lines. The only people allowed on the streets were a handful of Jewish settlers — about 12 of Abulnik's friends

and relatives — who sat in al-Bireh marketplace in a vigil for Abulnik. The Israeli government also gave them permission to bring in a van draped with a sign which read: "We are mourning the death of Zalman."

The daytime vigil, scheduled to last for 12 days, was seen as partially responsible for the extended duration of the curfew.

The army had announced that the curfew would be lifted on Wednesday, April 3 at 2:00 pm, so Karim Khalaf's family then scheduled his funeral for that hour. The army, however, did not lift the curfew and attendance at the funeral was strictly supervised and severely limited

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Prisoner Transfer to Israel Strongly Condemned

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the US State Department, and Israeli leftist groups criticised Israel April 3 for transferring 1200 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners held at Ansar camp in south Lebanon to a new detention centre in Israel.

In Geneva, the ICRC said in a press release that the transfer of prisoners captured in occupied territories to another country violates articles 49 and 76 of the Fourth Geneva Convention which deals with the treatment of civilians in wartime. Article 49 prohibits "forcible transfers... from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or that of any other country." Article 76 says that civilians "accused of offences shall be detained in the occupied country and if convicted they shall serve their sentences therein."

In Washington, the US State Department termed the transfer a violation of international law. "The transfer to the territory of an occupying power is prohibited, regardless of motive," said a statement issued by the department.

In Israel, Knesset members to south Lebanon.

Israeli officials refuted all criticism against the transfer. The officials said the transfer is only a temporary measure and a precaution until Israel completes its withdrawal scheduled for early this summer. However, they hinted that some of the prisoners believed to be actively involved in the resistance movement may be held in Israeli jails for a long time. They also said the release of the 1200 prisoners is dependent on the Lebanese resistance activities in south Lebanon, making the prisoners virtual hostages in Israeli hands.

Lawyer Lea Tsemel said lawyers for the detainees have little hope to challenge the transfer. The Israeli Knesset passed a law in 1983 extending the validity of the emergency regulations regarding transfer of prisoners to Israel. Although in virtual contradiction to the Geneva Convention, the Israeli Knesset ruling of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) cabinet Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin strongly condemning the transfer and demanding the im-

mediate return of the prisoners takes precedence over the internationally-recognised law.

The Israelis emptied Ansar camp of its 2000 detainees in order to dismantle it in keeping with their withdrawal schedule. On April 3, the army released 752 detainees from prison that it did not see as posing any particular threat to Israeli soldiers as they complete the phased withdrawal. The 752 detainees are reported to be primarily Lebanese Shi'ites. The 1200 transferred are allegedly active in anti-Israel resistance in the Palestinian and Lebanese guerrilla movements.

Some of the freed prisoners who chose to go north of the Israeli lines in south Lebanon were greeted like heroes when they arrived in their villages. Residents fired shots in the air in celebration together with the former prisoners, many of whom vowed to continue their resistance to the Israeli occupation, according to foreign press reports. Others who chose to stay in Israeli-occupied areas returned quietly to their homes.

Israel TV showed the prisoners being hauled on trucks with their hands tied in plastic cuffs. The Israeli army distributed leaflets warning those released against participation in guerrilla acts against the Israeli forces. As the trucks were moving north, the prisoners sang nationalist songs calling for the liberation of occupied south Lebanon.

Ansar camp, near Nabatieh, was set up as a detention centre following the June 6, 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Many of its Palestinian inmates were released in November 1983 following an agreement on an exchange of prisoners between Israel and the PLO. More than 4500 prisoners were released at the time. Ansar, however, was quickly filled with new prisoners from Lebanese Shi'ite villages.

Phalangists Shell Two Palestinian Refugee Camps

More than 50 persons are known dead, 170 wounded and 60,000 homeless in the second week of a Phalangist assault on the Palestinian camps of Mia Mia and Ain al-Hilweh on the eastern outskirts of Sidon in south Lebanon. Militias loyal to Phalangist rebel leader Samir Ja'ja' directed heavy artillery at the two camps this week, which are officially under the protection of the Lebanese army.

Palestinian fighters and their Lebanese allies returned the fire but did not stop the Phalangist guns. Thousands of once-again homeless Palestinian refugees escaped the indiscriminate shelling of their camps by fleeing to the centre of Sidon. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) issued a statement saying that the refugees had moved to UNRWA-run schools and hospitals, seeking shelter and assistance. The Palestine Liberation Organisation urged immediate international intervention to stop the shelling, which it said was intended to force the Palestinian refugees out of Lebanon. UNRWA urged an immediate end to the shelling. Jordan also called for an emergency session of the Arab League to discuss the deteriorating situation in Sidon.

Observers said that the Sidon fighting is intended to force Christian residents of the

eastern neighbourhoods of Sidon to flee south in order to form human security belt which Israel has been advocating to protect against possible guerrilla infiltration into Israel. The buffer is to be made up of Christians from southern Lebanon, according to the Israeli plan. The Ja'ja' rebellion within the Phalangist Party also believed to have been instigated by Israel in order to desabillise south Lebanon following the Israeli withdrawal. The desabillisation would then encourage Christians to flee further south Israel last week surveyed villages near its border for resettlement of Christian refugees from the north.

Israeli Deaths

Two Israeli soldiers were killed this week in the occupation south in separate guerrilla attacks. One soldier was killed March 30 during an exchange of fire with resistance forces near Nabatieh. Two other soldiers were wounded, according to Israeli army report, which also claimed that two resistance men were killed. A second soldier was killed April 2 and two wounded when a roadside bomb exploded as their military vehicles passed on a road west of Nabatieh. Attacks on Israelis were reported throughout the week.



Israeli soldiers carry a wounded Shi'ite prisoner from Ansar camp to a Red Cross ambulance during evacuation of the camp.

Settler Slain

Continued from page 1:
by the Israeli army (see story page 3).

April 4, only the centre of the two twin cities were kept under curfew while the rest of the towns' residents were allowed to return to their daily activities.

On the mornings of Tuesday and Thursday, April 2 and 4, the army announced that they would lift the curfew for one hour only. Within minutes, the once-empty streets of Ramallah and al-Bireh were packed with the two cities' inhabitants who were hoping to buy food for the next few days. Cars clogged the roads as shopowners rushed to open their stores. Long lines formed as the entire population descended at once on the few shops able to open. Barbed wire barricades closing off the centre of town were temporarily removed. At the main square and around the market place, heavily armed soldiers kept watch while military vehicles patrolled the streets. After exactly one hour, the streets were deserted again, and the oppressive silence of

previous days returned.

Representatives of the Regional Settlement Council for the West Bank and Gaza met Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir March 31 and demanded that the government impose heavy punishment on West Bank residents for the slaying. The council demanded the permanent closure of Bir Zeit University and the expulsion of any and all Palestinians who support the PLO. The settlers asked the government to allow them to build a settlement near Ramallah and name it after the slain settler. Rabin and Shamir rejected the settlers' demands but agreed to increase security in the occupied territories.

Nevertheless, on April 4 a score of settlers flocked to a hillside near the village of Um Safa north of Ramallah and began bulldozing the land on the spot in an attempt to establish a settlement. Israeli troops summoned to the area ordered them to stop work and evacuate the area. The settlers left, claiming they did not want to enter into a confrontation with the army.

They promised to continue their efforts to set up a settlement to commemorate Abulnik. Rabin warned the settlers that he would not allow them to take the law into their own hands and establish settlements without prior governmental approval.

Meanwhile, Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon was quoted by the Israeli news agency *Itim* as saying that Israel must respond to the killing by asserting beyond dispute that Israel intends to stay in the occupied territories for good. He said settlement construction in the occupied West Bank and Gaza should be stepped up in order to make Israeli control there an undisputable and permanent reality.

Bir Zeit University Public Relations Director Albert Aghazarian was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* April 2 as warning that the settlers' allegations against Bir Zeit University may be intended as a pretext for violent action against the university, its staff, and students. "The whole thing can be used as a provocation," Aghazarian was quoted as saying.

UNRWA Takes Action Against Gaza Faculty, Students

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) office in Gaza carried out a number of punitive measures April 2 against several students, employees, and faculty of the UNRWA Vocational Training Centre in Gaza. UNRWA officials were reacting to a demand from some persons at the centre to establish a student council.

Five days' pay was deducted from the salaries of 45 teachers and seven others lost 10 days' pay and received reprimand letters. A 15-day pay cut and warning were levied against three instructors. A 20-day pay cut and final warning was levied on three others, and a 25-day salary cut and final warning levied against two more. Thirteen students were expelled and tens more suspended — some for one month and others for the term.

Eleven of the most severely reprimanded teachers have submitted letters of objection to the head of UNRWA operations in

Gaza asking him to reconsider the decision. They also sent a letter to the Union of Arab Employees of UNRWA, which discussed their case in a regular union meeting April 3. The union sent a protest letter to UNRWA director of operations, denouncing the collective punishment decision and demanding the establishment of an investigative committee to study the events surrounding the dispute and indicate specifically who must bear the blame.

The dispute at the vocational centre began when students demanded the establishment of a student council. UNRWA officials refused the demand. UNRWA later claimed that the students instigated protest last month which turned violent, causing damage to UNRWA property. UNRWA asked the centre for a week as asked faculty and staff to submit the names of the students involved in the protest, but the teachers refused.

Military Bars Mass Attendance At Khalaf Funeral

The funeral procession for Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf wound through the streets of the city April 3 while the 22,000 residents remained locked in their homes in the fourth day of an Israeli-imposed round-the-clock curfew. Hundreds of Ramallahs defied military orders and ventured onto barbed-wired streets and rooftops to catch a glimpse of the procession and to bid their mayor a last farewell.

The 51-year-old mayor died March 30 of a heart attack at his winter home in Jericho. The funeral had been delayed by the family until Wednesday at 2:00 pm, the hour the military authorities had announced the curfew would be lifted. However the curfew continued indefinitely.

Israeli troops cordoned off the area around the Greek Orthodox church in Ramallah's Old City at noon, two hours prior to the scheduled funeral time, and prevented anyone from entering. Rooftops and balconies near the church were crowded with people, silently watching the approach of the funeral. Israeli troops stepped up their curfew patrols and threatened over loud-speakers "to shoot curfew violators without warning."

From the morning, Israeli troops were on heightened alert, preventing any pedestrian traffic in the occupied West Bank city.

The funeral procession began in Jerusalem, where many Jerusalemites congregated at Maqassed Hospital to take the coffin to the family home in the Batn al-Hawa quarter in Ramallah. Israeli troops allowed only

cars with special military permits to pass through a military road-block near Samirami Hotel at the southernmost entrance to al-Bireh. Many West Bank mourners who did not have permits were turned back. Several West Bank mayors, including Ibrahim Tawil, the deposed mayor of al-Bireh, Mustafa Natshe of Hebron, and Elias Freij of Bethlehem took part in the funeral. The elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, was prevented from attending the funeral by soldiers who are permanently stationed outside his home. The mayor of Tulkarm, Hilmi Hanoun, and the deposed mayor of Qalqilya were turned back at roadblocks.

Many West Bank notables and delegations from inside the "green line," as well as a number of foreign diplomats in East Jerusalem, including the consuls of France, Italy, Greece, England, and Spain, paid tribute to Khalaf at the family home.

The funeral left the house shortly after 1:30 pm with the coffin carried high by Ramallah youths. According to local estimates, more than 1500 mourners marched in the procession, chanting nationalist slogans. Local women also sang out in a typical Palestinian expression of grief and pride.

Israeli soldiers forced the procession to detour onto a side street leading to the church area, which was under tight guard. Residents who tried to join the procession at this point were turned back by soldiers at the many blockades surrounding the church.

Following the funeral

service in church, the mourners, led by youths from the First Ramallah Boy Scouts club carrying wreaths, marched behind the funeral car through al-Sahel Street towards the city's Greek Orthodox cemetery al-Masyun neighbourhood. The procession stopped briefly in front of the Ramallah municipal building, where Khalaf served as mayor for 10 years. They also left wreaths at the main entrance to the municipality, which was taken over by the Israeli military in March 1982, before continuing on to the cemetery.

Reverend Odeh Rantisi Ramallah's deputy mayor, delivered a farewell speech in the name of the elected municipal council in which he praised Khalaf's role and achievements. Wasef Shkukani spoke in the name of the al-Bireh municipal council, which was also dismissed in spring 1982. Dr Mohammed Sa'di al-Faqeh, the acting head of Bir Zeit University Board of Trustees, and MK Tawfiq Zayyad, from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the mayor of Nazareth, eulogised Khalaf before the burial. "We have lost a remarkable national leader, who fought for the rights of his people and who called for national unity," the Nazareth mayor said.

MK Mohammed Mi'ari from Haifa, of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), also delivered a eulogy.

In the only violent incident of the day, Israeli soldiers beat up a Dutch journalist who was photographing the procession



Mourners enter the Ramallah Greek Orthodox church following the borne casket of deceased Mayor Karim Khalaf at his funeral in Ramallah April 3/BA photo

and smashed his camera. The soldiers then took him to the Ramallah police station and tried

to force him to sign a statement saying that he was not beaten. He refused.

Asqalan Prisoners Await New Commissioner's Action

Over 50 demonstrators protested April 1 outside the Prison Service Authority's Jerusalem office demanding that Rafael Suissa, the newly-appointed prison commissioner, meet the terms of the Asqalan prison hunger-strikers. The 500 Palestinian political prisoners - 148 of whom have been seriously ill for years - began their partial hunger strike February 22. They only recently refrained from escalating into a full hunger strike at Suissa's own request that he be given a fair amount of time to improve conditions at the jail. Suissa admitted in a Tel Aviv meeting last week that some prisoners in Asqalan had been beaten "unnecessarily" and that he personally opposes the use of tear gas against prisoners except in emergencies. He also said he has read the list of prisoner demands and "agrees to five of them," but declined to elaborate.

Mothers and relatives of prisoners, who have been sitting in at the Jerusalem Red Cross headquarters since February 25 to publicise their sons' plight, transferred their protest to the West Jerusalem site to join the predominantly Israeli demonstration. The Israeli Communist Party women's movement

(Tandi) and Women Against Occupation (WAO) jointly organised the protest action. A large crowd gathered, with some Israeli passers-by vehemently objecting to the presence of Jews on the picket line. Several shouting matches developed, but police pulled the hecklers away and the protest continued without incident.

Tandi and WAO had presented a joint letter to Suissa's secretary earlier that day demanding he act immediately to relieve the suffering of the hunger-strikers, but Suissa himself did not appear. There was common feeling among the demonstrators that Suissa would only make a few cosmetic changes to break the momentum of the hunger strike without addressing the real issues.

On April 2, word reached the mothers' sit-in at the Red Cross headquarters that Suissa had agreed to meet with a delegation of the relatives on April 3. The mothers have permanently established themselves *de facto* inside the Red Cross offices and are maintaining a round-the-clock presence, even sleeping there. They say they will not leave until the prisoners themselves call off the hunger strike. The

strain of the tension and waiting has taken its toll on the relatives too, with many of the mothers needing emergency trips to the hospital when overcome by stress and other related illnesses. Red Cross personnel have abandoned the office due to the overcrowding caused by the sit-in. They say they have set up operations elsewhere. The director of the Red Cross office in Jerusalem says he has read the prisoners' demands and is keeping in constant touch with developments at the prison.

A circular signed by the "National Institutes in Jerusalem" was distributed April 3 outlining the four most important demands of the Asqalan hunger-strikers, as well as calling for improvement at Damoun prison, the scene of a brief hunger strike two weeks ago. The statement reminded, "A prisoner is kept in jail to serve a punishment levied on him by the court. No other authority has the right to levy further daily punishments contrary to the court's ruling and in violation of accepted norms." In Israeli prisons, the military police and, in the case of Fara's detention centre, the army are responsible for prisoners' well-being and conditions

Wounded Student Dies



A 17-year-old Nablus youth, Ihab Mana'a, died March 28 from chest wounds received

last December when he was shot by soldiers during local demonstrations. Israeli military authorities ordered the funeral to be held at midnight with only immediate family members in attendance. The youth was a high school student at Qadri Tuqan in Nablus.

The Mana'a family has asked for donations to help pay the teenager's medical bills, which amounted to JD45,000 over the four-month period.

are notoriously poor.

On April 4 a general strike was called to support the Asqalan prison hunger-strikers. Most shops in East Jerusalem were shut, with only 25 percent of the tourist shops in the Old City giving in to the financial pressure of money to be made in the Easter season. At the Red Cross itself, hundreds of people gathered to put pressure on the prison authorities. Four army jeeps, a police van, and an army photographer waited on the sidelines, intimidating the protesters. The photographer took pictures of any male seen entering the Red Cross building. The photographs are said to be for information's sake alone and cannot be used to arrest participants in the sit-in.

The director of the Jerusalem Red Cross denied that his organisation had called the police, saying it is not their policy to do so.

The Asqalan hunger-strikers sent an eight-page letter to Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev on March 8, explaining why they went on strike. They are requesting such basic amenities as drinking water, hot water, fresh air, tables and chairs, Arabic newspapers, warm winter clothes, access to specialised doctors, sports clothing, toothbrushes, new books, the right to keep their own writings, the right to watch television, decent food, and longer letters from their families - all of which are being denied them.

Police Injure 4 Bethlehem Univ. Students

Israeli border police shot and wounded four Bethlehem University students during a Land Day commemoration on campus April 1. Military officials have stated that they would like to close the university for two months. Reports from the campus said several students gathered in the yard in the morning chanting slogans. The students later threw rocks at Israeli border police outside campus. The police retaliated with a barrage of tear gas and gunfire, injuring four students in the legs, and immediately laid a siege on the university which lasted until 7:30 pm. Students were not allowed in or out of campus. Some of the students who attempted to leave campus during the siege were arrested and interrogated.

Antoine Sansour, the university rector, told *Al Fajr* that he was called to the Israeli military governor in Bethlehem, Haim Aviv, the following day April 1. Aviv told Sansour that Bethlehem military officials plan

to close the university for two months, but that they have to get approval for this from the Israeli defence minister. The Bethlehem University academic council met April 2 and decided to call off studies till April 16. The university's Easter recess was scheduled to start April 4 and continue until April 16.

Sansour said that since the April 1 meeting, the administration has not been informed whether the plans to close the university have been approved. But he added that since he has not heard anything further, he assumes studies will resume as usual on April 16 without any problems. Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem, who is the head of the university's board of trustees, said that he doesn't think that the university would be closed.

The four wounded students are: Hussein Mohammed Darasneh, Sami Mohammed Safi, Said Abu Ghosh, and Ali Mohammed. Darasneh was hit in his right thigh, Safi in his right thigh and

twice in his left arm, Abu Ghosh in his right leg, and Mohammed in his left thigh. The students were taken to the nearby Hussein Hospital, but later three of them were transferred to the Israeli Hadassah Hospital. The fourth, Ali Mohammed, is reportedly being held in detention. They are reported to be in stable conditions.

Sources at the university told *Al Fajr* the demonstration was an expression of support to Arabs within the "green line" commemorating Land Day, March 30, and in protest against Israel's "iron fist" policy in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. The status of the university is not yet officially known, but Israeli border police who set up roadblocks outside the university after the demonstration turned back all students, faculty members, and employees going to campus the next day. Travellers on roads near the university said that the smell of tear gas hung in the air several hours after the demonstration.

West Bank and Gaza Observe Land Day

Israeli authorities observed Land Day one day early in the West Bank March 29 by carrying out a number of "preemptive arrests," heavily censoring the local papers, and stopping distribution of the four Palestinian dailies outside Jerusalem.

Land Day, March 30, was celebrated by Palestinians in the occupied territories with voluntary work at a number of West Bank farms, stone-throwing incidents against Israeli settlers and army vehicles, strikes, and spontaneous protests.

In the occupied territories the Israeli military arrested several hundred youth, warned merchants against closing their shops, and heavily censored Jerusalem-based Arabic newspapers in an attempt to suppress Land Day activities.

Over 200 youth from several West Bank cities and refugee camps were detained during the week preceding Land Day. At Dheishah refugee camp, 20 youths were summoned by the military government and warned against holding protests in the camp on March 30. The military also warned shopkeepers in the camp against striking. Similar warnings were issued to merchants throughout the major West Bank and Gaza cities. About 150 youths from the West Bank and Gaza are believed to be still in detention.

Heavily armed border police were also stationed on major highways linking West Bank cities, and travellers were randomly searched.

Arabic newspapers published in occupied Jerusalem carried no mention of Land Day events due to heavy censorship. Editorials on the subject were also censored. (Translation: *Al Ittihad*, March 29)

The distribution of the Palestinian daily newspaper to the West Bank and Gaza was stopped by the Israeli army March 29 and copies confiscated.

A general strike was observed in most West Bank and Gaza cities. Merchants in Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, and Bethlehem closed their shops but most were forced to reopen later on the orders of Israeli soldiers. West Bank government-run schools were ordered closed on March 30 and 31 by the Israeli authorities to prevent students from carrying out group protest activities. Students at area UNRWA schools went on strike.

In Bethlehem two youths were shot by soldiers in an

impromptu demonstration which began in Manger Square and spilled out onto city streets. Demonstrators raised the Palestinian flag and shouted nationalist slogans. The demonstration turned into a confrontation when Israeli soldiers started dispensing teargas and firing live ammunition to disperse demonstrators. Two youths from the nearby Dheishah camp, Khaled al-Sheikh and Ziad al-Laham, were shot and are still undergoing treatment in Maqassed Hospital. Bethlehem sources also noted that the Bethlehem military governor's car was stoned and its windshield smashed.

The military closed Nahaj University with roadblocks March 30, 31 and April 3.

Arrests were also reported in the Jenin and Tulkarm areas. Qalqilya was placed under a curfew after protesters stoned a number of Israeli vehicles.

In the Gaza Strip, flags were raised and tyres burned in Jabalya camp and leaflets distributed calling for a strike. Tyres were also set aflame in Gaza City and in Nusseirat, Bureij and Maghazi camps.

Work on Land on Land Day

Volunteers spread out over the West Bank and Gaza Strip on Land Day to work reclaiming and improving land. Twenty-one volunteers were arrested.

The volunteers of the Higher Committee for Voluntary Work worked on lands in the Jib area north of Jerusalem, Wadi Fukin area near Bethlehem, and Burham and Kufi Na'meh in the Ramallah area. To reach a number of the target areas, volunteers had to hike mountains and take road detours to avoid harassment by Israeli soldiers positioned outside the entrances to villages.

In the village of Kufi Na'meh near Ramallah, soldiers arrived at the site where the volunteers were working and arrested 21 people, most of them youths from the Ramallah area. The volunteers were released later on in the day after interrogation.

Muharm Barghouti, the head of the Higher Committee for Voluntary Work, told *Al Fajr* a statement distributed by the committee called on youth to assist farmers in tilling the land. "By working on our land we visibly show our attachment to it and, accordingly, our adherence to the demand of an independent Palestinian state," the statement concluded.

'Land Day' Art Exhibit Opens in Nazareth

Over 150 Nazareth residents crowded into the city's Cultural Centre March 29 for the opening of a week-long art exhibit under the title of "Land Day."

Thirty-four Palestinian artists from all parts of Palestine exhibited nearly 100 works in what organisers called a "unique art exhibit that united Palestinian artists from various areas." Twenty-one of the artists are from the occupied territories.

Deputy Mayor of Nazareth Ramez Jarayseh opened the exhibit with a short speech about the role of art. He said that the exhibit showed that Palestinian artists are bound with the land and the cause. "Palestinian artists don't draw for art's sake but are committed to their people and their cause," he said. Jarayseh

spoke about the problems facing Palestinian artists who live under occupation: "They have continued their work despite the Israeli war against Palestinian culture and against the occupation's policy of denying protest and dissent."

Nabil Anani, head of the Palestinian Artists' League in the West Bank and Gaza, said that Nazareth has been for many years the haven of Palestinian artists wishing to show their works. He said that the celebration of Land Day, March 30, is a reminder to the world that "there will be no peace in the area until the Palestinian people are granted their national rights."

Riad Massarweh, director of the Cultural Centre, told *Al Fajr* that he considers the exhibit, which has been months in pre-

paration, "an artistic demonstration." He said that the atmosphere on opening night as artists met each other and residents of Nazareth was positive and beneficial. "They talked about Palestinian art and the direction in which it is going." Massarweh said that all the artists were united in expressing the necessity of holding onto the land as an important means of the common struggle.

The art exhibit, which closes April 5, was sponsored by the Cultural Centre, a facility of the Nazareth municipality, the Haifa-based Popular Arts Institute, and the League of Palestinian Artists in the West Bank and Gaza.

The exhibit is scheduled to move to Jerusalem's El-Hakawati Theatre April 10.

Ibllin Demands to Elect Local Council

Residents of the western Galilee village of Ibllin demonstrated March 27 in front of the Israeli Knesset building demanding that their village of 3000 be governed by an elected local council instead of the appointed committee.

Five years ago, the Israeli interministerial appointed a committee of Arabs from outside the village to run village affairs following internal disputes between local families over who should run the village council. Residents say that this dispute is now over and therefore elections should be held.

Saleh Murahid, member of

the Ibllin Peoples' Committee for Elections, which sponsored the demonstration, told the crowd: "Our cause is a humanitarian one in the first degree since there has been no village or town in Israel run by an appointed committee for the last five years." Murahid added, "All signs point to the fact that this committee will continue for four more years."

The demonstrators were joined by Members of Knesset Meir Vilner and Charlie Biton (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), Mohammed Watad (Mapam), and Zeidan Atsche (Shinui). The MKs expressed support for Ibllin's demands and

urged that elections be held in the village as soon as possible.

Vilner charged that "this situation, which also exists in other Arab villages, is a result of a policy of discrimination against the Arab people." Vilner promised to raise the issue in the Knesset. He urged the crowd to continue the struggle and to recruit more people to put pressure on the interior ministry to hold elections for a local council. Atsche told the demonstrators that the appointed committees are nothing more than a dictatorship to benefit one particular party. Watad held the interior ministry responsible and said it "purposely ignores the problem."

Nablus Youth Shot During Demonstration

A Nablus youth was critically injured and tens of Palestinian youth arrested April 3 as the Israeli army broke up a demonstration in the Qasabeh (Old City) district of Nablus.

Eyewitnesses said that units of the Israeli border patrol who rushed to the Old City of Nablus to break up the demonstrations used tear gas and live bullets. Reports from Nablus said

that the demonstrators were raising Palestinian flags and chanting national songs. Sameh Sha'ar, 19, was shot in the abdomen. He is reported in critical condition at the *Ittihad al-Nisa'i* Hospital, in Nablus.

Immediately after the shooting and arrests, all Nablus shops closed their doors in protest of the Israeli army's action.

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Karim Khalaf

Karim Khalaf, the leader, will always be remembered among us. His central role in all nationalist confrontations with the occupation was constantly inspiring to others.

As mayor, Khalaf faced directly with his colleagues in Ramallah and the rest of the West Bank, Israeli military attempts to impose a civilian order on armed occupation - the so-called civil administration. He stood up to defend against every military inspired erosion of rights of those citizens he dedicated his life to serve. He confronted, too, the military's attempts to humiliate, insult, threaten, and destroy fellow nationalist mayors in other West Bank cities.

On the Palestinian national level, Khalaf was like a living spring. He never ceased to call for unity and united nationalist stands to maintain the strength and dignity of the Palestinian people in the face of occupation.

As a man, he was gentle, soft-spoken, and always hospitable to the constant barrage of visitors. He was known for his patience and articulateness in explaining the Palestinian position to outsiders.

Karim Khalaf's memory will always live with us. Our children will always long for his special perseverance determination, and spirit of sacrifice.

The psychological harassment and physical attacks he was subjected to - particularly the car bomb attack which crippled him and the long isolation of forced exile to Jericho - made Karim Khalaf a martyr for his people, as any victim of an Israeli soldier's bullet.

The ideals Karim Khalaf dedicated his life to - the right of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination, and to an independent state - are closer to being achieved due in part to his loud, strong, and steadfast voice.

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USSR is Only Option Left

by Maher AbuKhater

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's recent disappointing visit to the United States closed the door on what he, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, and Jordan's King Hussein had termed "the last chance for peace in the Middle East." Ronald Reagan's rejection of Mubarak's call for direct talks between the US and a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation as a first step towards direct talks between the Arab team and their Israeli adversaries did not come as a surprise to anybody.

Mubarak, and before him King Fahd, went to the US knowing very well what kind of strategic alliance exists between the US and Israel, which will be difficult to shake without heavy pressure. This alliance was never intended to suppress the Arab Middle East, since the US can do that alone, but as an advanced warning and check system against possible Soviet penetration into the region. The US, under the conservative leadership of the Reagan administration, looks at the world as divided into two camps: the Western camp, which it leads, and the Eastern camp, led by the Soviet Union.

So far the Middle East is considered American territory in this division of the world, and this is the way the US wants to keep it. Soviet influence in this region was drastically reduced after Anwar Sadat, Egypt's late president, expelled the thousands of Soviet experts from his country in 1971 and after the Soviets were kept out of peace talks when Sadat preempted an international conference on the Middle East by travelling to Israel in 1977. Since then the Soviet Union has not attempted to return to the Middle East, and, to the surprise of every analyst, stayed away, allowing the US free action without any check.

Soviet reluctance to re-enter the Middle East at full force could be attributed to the following reasons: (1) The Soviet Union was kept busy in different areas on its border - Afghanistan, Iran, Poland, and China. It had its hands full on all four borders and therefore did not want to extend itself or get bogged down in a new front in the Middle East. (2) The Arabs have been divided for several years and are therefore unreliable strategic allies. The Soviet Union tried hard to convince the Arabs of the necessity to unite their forces to face American hegemony, but to no avail.

(3) The USSR was also more interested in making sure that Western Europe would not allow the US to deploy nuclear missiles directed at the Soviet Union on its territory. The European security conferences, which include members from both camps, were the avenue to stop the US from getting close to Soviet borders. The USSR therefore concentrated all its potential in the late 1970s and early 1980s on these conferences and on making itself appear less belligerent than the US. The Middle East, strategically, is less important to the USSR than the European continent, and therefore any change in the European status quo may pose a more serious threat to the Soviets than changes in the Middle East.

(4) The USSR had its own internal troubles. The successive deaths of top leaders created internal war for succession and left the country unable to decide on important issue, like intervention in the Middle East.

In spite of these four critical reasons, the Middle East remains an area of relative strategic importance to the Soviets. The Middle East still has a large supply of oil on which several countries in the Western camp depend. This is in addition to other interests the US and Western Europe have in the Middle East, mainly business ventures. The geographical location of

the Middle East is also important to the USSR, which prefers conventional warfare to nuclear war. If the Middle East also happens to fall under the Soviet sphere of influence, this will ease some of the pressure the US puts on Soviet borders in Afghanistan and Poland by directing attention to the Middle East, which is close to Western Europe. The Soviets successfully tried this method in Central and South America.

It is therefore obvious that the Soviet role in the Middle East conflict is by no means defunct, but rather alive and well. All the USSR needs is some encouragement and a dependable ally in the Middle East to reactivate it. Both the US and Israel realise that the big white bear may soon wake up and pose a threat to their freedom of action in the Middle East. Both are moving fast to force a status quo favourable to them. They are assisted in this by Arab countries who do not want to see a Soviet return but an American presence, even at the cost of their own honour and at the expense of the Palestinian people and problem.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, since its inception, has tried all but one option to liberate the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel. It tried armed struggle but was outmanoeuvred. It tried the United Nations but nothing resulted except useless resolutions. For several years now, it has been trying to look good to the US and Western Europe, hoping that they will come up with a just solution to the conflict. The PLO allied itself with the US's best Arab friends, hoping that this would make the difference. But Mubarak's latest fiasco proved the PLO leadership's short-sightedness.

Therefore, if the PLO wants to preserve itself and accomplish its goals, it has only one option left and that is to vigorously pursue an alliance with the Soviet Union. Like the American-Israeli alliance based on mutual interests, the PLO and the Soviet Union need each other. Even though the PLO is a landless organisation, it remains an avenue to Soviet re-entry in the Middle East to confront American and Israeli expansion and hegemony. When the PLO clearly speaks out against an American-imposed solution to the Middle East crisis and insists that a Soviet influence should be present, Israel and the US, as well as their Arab friends, will have no choice but to either liquidate the Palestinian organisation or yield to its demands.

It is beyond doubt that a solution to the Middle East problem is unattainable without Palestinian approval. The Soviet Union, knowing for sure that the PLO is an important and strategic ally, will not allow its liquidation and will intervene more in the Middle East to keep its image as defender of its allies. This image is very important to the Soviet Union in its strategic arms talks with the US and to bolster the morale of its allies everywhere.

The Soviet Union, a superpower, is the only option remaining to confront American and Israeli arrogance in the region. The USSR, not the US, is the only power capable of pressuring Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. This will be done through the pressure of military might. The PLO, if it wants to reach its goal, has no choice but to embrace the USSR enthusiastically and demonstrate that it means business.

An alliance with the Soviet Union does not necessarily mean the PLO will become a surrogate or a satellite of the USSR, or even a Marxist organisation. It only means an alliance based on mutual strategic interests and needs. The PLO does not need to worry about what the US, Europe, the Arabs, or the rest of the world will think of it after it allies itself with the USSR. The world already does not think much of the PLO and is anxious to liquidate it and the whole Palestinian cause.

Correction

In issues 253 of March 8, 1985 and 255 of March 22, 1985, Al Fajr published articles on page 5 incorrectly attributed to Ghassan Bishara, our Washington, DC correspondent. We apologise to our readers.

No Government Accountability:

Occupied Territories Free-for-All

Over the past decade, the minister of defence's and the army's authority over all facets of life in the occupied territories has been eroded, according to Dr. Meron Benvenisti, director of the West Bank and Gaza Strip Data Project who recently completed a study on the implementation of Israeli government policy on the West Bank. He claims that in the course of Israel's 18-year-long presence in the occupied territories, the ministry of defence's authority has been whittled down to the point where it is confined to the military government that rules over the Arab residents, an administrative structure with marked similarities to the martial law administration that ruled over the Israeli Arab population in the Triangle and Galilee after 1948.

Although the ministry of defence is formally responsible for all facets of life in the occupied territories, the actual situation is quite different. Both with respect to the implementation of various aspects of government policy and the collection of taxes from the residents, other ministries are making decisions and operating there independently of the ministry of defence.

Gap Between Theory and Practice

The minister of defence is formally in charge of the occupied territories, but the actual situation is somewhat different. According to international law, the military governor is in charge of the territories, and he in turn is subordinated

by Yehuda Litani

complete control of everything to do with the occupied territories. This applies to Moshe Dayan [who was the minister of defence from 1967-74] as well, despite his attempt to concentrate authority for the occupied territories in the ministry of defence, in order to have a monopoly on everything related to the occupation. However, even during Dayan's period as minister of defence, his political rivals sought to cut back his power and for that reason set up a committee composed of the directors of the different government ministries, in order to prevent Dayan from becoming the overlord of the occupied territories."

According to Benvenisti, up until Dayan's resignation from the ministry of defence in 1974 not only did the ministry know everything that was going on there, it was also the principle decision-maker about all facets of life in the occupied territories — settlements, land expropriation, and budget allocations notwithstanding. Israeli actions in the occupied territories were examined in relation to the effect they would have on the Arab population. "There was a kind of balanced approach, and even if something was done solely for the benefit of Israel, it was first weighed against the possible ramifications it could have on the Arab population (in regard to the defence situation, order, and Jordan's view of the matter) before being implemented," said Benvenisti.

Likud embarked on a deliberate policy of transferring power from the military government to civil bodies. This was manifested in a number of areas: the budget and responsibility for establishing new towns in the occupied territories was transferred to the minister of housing; regional and local councils were set up for the Jewish settlers that indirectly came under the supervision of the ministry of interior; moreover, they received budget allocations from the ministry of interior as though they were located in Israel proper; supervision of water supplies was transferred to the Mekorot Water Company; and the ministry of justice was put in charge of the most delicate issue of all — land.

This was done to further the Israeli conception of autonomy: that is to say, the framework in which Israel would retain control (ie, the Israeli government's sole legislative prerogative) over natural resources, the Jewish settlements, and the transportation, communication, and electricity infrastructure. Hence, the authority was transferred to the civil ministries.

When Yitzhak Rabin became minister of defence in 1984, he found that many facets of life on the West Bank were being administered by other government departments. At present, he has no way of knowing which plot of land Ms Pia Albeck — the director of the ministry of justice's land department office — will declare "state property" tomorrow morning. According to Benvenisti, the sole *modus operandi* for expropriating land on the West Bank at present is to declare it state land, as opposed to the previous tactic whereby land was confiscated for military purposes.

Back in 1980 2,100,000 dunums of land on the West Bank were earmarked for expropriation. When a given plot is slated to be declared state property, the military commander of the region must authorise an order to that effect, and although the minister of defence can instruct him to withhold his signature, to do so would be tantamount to obstructing the operation of another government ministry. Right now, the minister of defence is under a lot of pressure from within the government not to block the activities of other ministers.

Seventy-Four Times More Per Jewish Resident

An examination of budget allocations for the occupied territories reveals the actual situation on the ground. Every cabinet minister operates within the constraints placed upon him by the budget his ministry is allocated. In 1983, for example, the total outlay of government funds in the occupied territories was US\$375 million. However, if we examine the breakdown of government spending in the occupied territories, we will quickly notice that 75 percent of the overall amount was spent by civil ministries and only 25 percent by the ministry of defence. The budget for the settlements, the construction of a service infrastructure, etc, was US\$280 million (for 30,000 settlers) while the government outlay for the 760,000 Arab residents was US\$95 million. The budget of the ministry of housing was US\$95 million, the same amount as that allocated to the ministry of defence for the Arab population.



Moshe Dayan

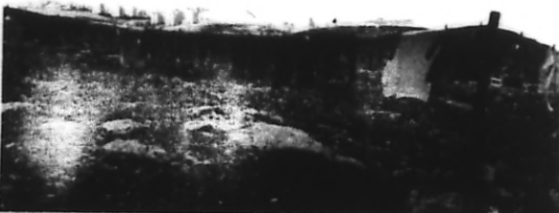
Given such a situation in which every cabinet minister implements his own policy after receiving the Knesset's authorisation, it is hardly surprising that Defence Minister Rabin recently said that the settlement budget was a complete mystery to him. His budget allocation was one-quarter that of the settlement budget.

There are, of course, coordinating bodies, such as the committee of directors of government ministries and the ministerial settlement committee, but the minister of defence does not have any special status on these committees. And while the minister of defence and the coordinator of operations in the occupied territories are involved in various aspects of civilian life on the West Bank, they do not have the power to veto any decisions taken in inter-ministerial forums. Nor can they order the minister of housing to halt a given project, since the minister of housing operates within the budget framework set out for him by the Knesset.

What is truly paradoxical is that all the other ministries operate under the formal sanction of the ministry of defence; for in the eyes of the Knesset, international law, and the media, the minister of defence has retained his authority over the occupied territories, although the situation on the ground is very different. For although the minister and his aides are informed of the activities of the other ministries, there is a vast difference between receiving reports and coordinating activities under a single roof.

A State within a State

According to Benvenisti, the present situation has allowed the Jewish population of the occupied territories to avoid any form of comprehensive control of their activities, and as a result, they are establishing a state within a state. The minister of defence functions like a military governor, in charge of the 800,000 Arabs on the West Bank, but without the ability to coordinate operations or weigh defence requirements against the parochial policy interests of the other ministries. This situation is catastrophic for the internal political system, the defence network, and any possibility of forming a clear policy about the future of the occupied territories. (Translation: HaAaretz, March 3, 1985)



Palestinians hang their wash next to their pitched tent overlooking the modern conveniences of an Israeli settlement built on confiscated Arab land.

to the minister of defence. Hence, everything done in the occupied territories is done in the name and with the approval of the military government, thus making the minister of defence responsible before the law, parliament, and the public. But according to Benvenisti, "The protracted [occupation] process has created a situation in which the army's authority is restricted to the administration of the Arab population. The minister of defence never had

Decentralisation

Benvenisti believes that the ministry of defence's authority began to wane during Peres' term as minister [1974-77] and that the process was accelerated when the Likud took office in 1977, particularly after the signing of the peace accord with Egypt and the beginning of the autonomy talks. The

It has been said that the shortest path to progress for women in a struggle for freedom and equality is through work. The Surif Needlework cooperative — Palestine's only cooperative run exclusively by women — provides a living example of how true this statement is. Though it faced serious obstacles

and to a lesser extent from the social norms of the conservative rural society, the Surif cooperative managed to survive and become such a success that it is now one of the leading West Bank cooperatives.

Today, Surif Co-op is self-sufficient, paying dividends to 170 shareholders and providing work for more than 300 women. The cooperative's area of operations is spread over five centres. In addition to the village of Surif, where it is based, the co-op is operative in the city of Hebron, the villages of Idhna and Deir Samet, and the refugee camps al-Fawar and al-Azbeh.

Even though it is relatively new, the Surif cooperative has already had a significant influence on the lives of its members and on the village of 15,000. Residents say it has helped improve the status of local women both economically and culturally. "It has contributed to freeing women from the social restrictions that exist in traditional rural Palestinian society," one member stated.

Surif's cooperative traces its roots back to the early 1950's when the Mennonite Central Committee, a US-based relief agency of the Mennonite Church that was providing aid to Palestinian refugees, began an income-generating embroidery project in the Jericho and Hebron areas.

The idea for the project was an attempt to address the problem of extreme poverty and unemployment, which threatened the lives of many refugees. Pressured by the sheer need to survive, some refugee women had tried to sell their intricate hand-decorated dresses, their only capital, to foreign relief workers just to feed their families. Work was scarce because of the chaos created by the war and the influx of thousands of refugees. The Mennonites began distributing cloth material and silk embroidery thread to Palestinian women and gave them specific patterns from which to work. The women would sew at home, and return the finished garment to Mennonite workers who were responsible for marketing it abroad. Most of the products were then sold in Canada and the USA.

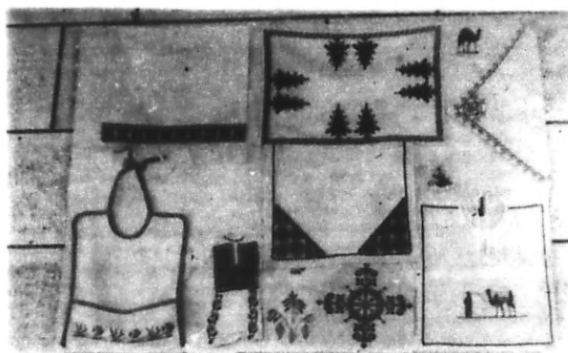
The needlework project was concentrated in the extremely poor eastern Hebron villages, known as "front line villages." In addition to the poor village residents, there were also groups of refugees not completely provided for by UNRWA.

Mennonite officials who began the project worked on a volunteer basis. Suhir Dajani, promoter and consultant to the co-op, said it quickly proved to be very successful and profitable. "Within a short period of time, the project became self-supporting," Dajani said.

After most Jericho area refugees fled to Jordan as a result of the Israeli invasion of the West Bank in 1967, the bulk of the project was transferred to the Hebron area. The Mennonites were also running a successful embroidery project in al-Arish in the Sinai until the city was returned to Egypt in 1981.

In 1976, the project underwent basic administrative changes which facilitated its transformation into a completely locally managed cooperative. The Mennonite Central Committee decided to select a Palestinian to run the project. Dajani was hired to manage the project.

Dajani told *Al Fajr* that as the new director she was first struck by the gross inequality in pay between workers,



Palestinian women in the Surif Needlework Cooperative show the versatility of design in this sampling of traditional embroidery.

Surif Cooperative Gives Women Viable Alternative

by Sami Aboudi



Palestinian village women now embroider dresses for export in much the same way they have for centuries.

She explained that the bulk of profits were being spent on administrative matters, particularly the salaries of eight office workers directly linked to the project. The more than 500 labourers, however, were only receiving about 25 percent of the project's income. The eight office workers — whose job was to

cut material according to the patterns, wash and iron the finished pieces, and attach the label in preparation for export — were getting the bulk of the remaining 75 percent. The Mennonite Central Committee then tried to reduce the gap between the office workers and day labourers by increasing the pay per

finished piece. Office workers, who were getting a predetermined salary in US dollars, continued to absorb the bulk of the revenues.

The Mennonite Central Committee administrators, who were apparently keen on relinquishing the project, approved a proposal to transfer control to the workers themselves. Dajani, who formulated the proposal, explained that since the Mennonite Central Committee was not directly benefiting from the project, she encouraged the idea of transferring it into a self-run enterprise.

The village of Surif, which had the largest number of worker participants, was selected as the base of operations.

When the idea was first introduced to some Surif women, it was met with fierce opposition. Su'ad Mohammed, a veteran worker in the co-op, explained that the idea was totally alien to them. "We never thought that such a plan would succeed," she said. Dajani said that some of the women misinterpreted the proposal as an attempt to terminate the project altogether and therefore put up stiff resistance to it.

It took a great deal of effort and explanation to get the workers to consider the idea. This included organising trips to some other West Bank cooperatives, allowing the women to watch other women run their own affairs independent of a parent organisation. After one such trip to the al-Bireh Family Rehabilitation Society late in 1979, the women began getting used to the idea and showing signs of readiness to participate in the independent project.

Before long, 25 women had signed up for a special training programme organised by the Mennonite Central Committee. The programme involved training women to work in all levels of production, from cutting patterns to attaching the labels. Several women were also trained to run the administrative affairs of the project.

During the training, a few problems arose when some of the Mennonite office workers, who apparently feared losing their jobs, tried to discourage the trainees. "We kept hearing that the plan would never be successful and that the trainees were incompetent," Dajani said.

The women, however, proved to be far more competent than anyone had expected. Within nine months, the trainees had mastered all levels of the work, and the women were ready to take over the project. The equipment — tables, scissors, irons, and ironing boards — was transferred to the newly established offices in Surif.

A five-member founding committee, which was selected at the start of the project, decided on a unique system of equal shareholding. Each interested party was required to purchase 20 shares (each share cost JD1) to be given full membership. In order to make joining the cooperative easier, new members were encouraged to start by buying one share and paying the rest from their earnings. This system, which is still in operation, allows for a fair distribution of the profits, says Zeinab al-Akel, the cooperative's manager. She said that in accordance with Jordanian law concerning cooperatives, only six percent of the profits can be distributed among the shareholders. The cooperative, she said, distributes half of that amount among the shareholders and the other half among all the workers (shareholders and non-shareholders).

By the end of 1981, the women had elected an administrative committee, which began studying the legal details involved in establishing the cooperative. Dajani took it upon herself to travel to

Continued on page 13

The Arab Development Society is the West Bank's largest agricultural producer. *Al Fajr's* Maher AbuKhater traces the history of the farm: its foundation in 1944 as a result of the insistence of one determined Palestinian; its decline after 1967; and its recent resurgence under new management.

When Mousa Alami proposed in 1944 to turn the barren and salty Jordan Valley into agricultural land, he was ridiculed by Palestinians, Jordanians, and foreigners alike. But within only a few short years, he proved he could do it — and won the world's respect. Today, the Arab Development Society (ADS) that he founded sprawls over 8000 dunums about four kilometres east of Jericho — the largest Palestinian farm in the occupied territories.

The ADS has become more than just a farm. It includes farms for agricultural and dairy products as well as agricultural and technical schools for refugees and socially deprived children. It is regarded worldwide as a successful development project.

The Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 dealt the ADS a hard blow, and the farm has fallen on hard times over the last 18 years. Despite donations of money and equipment from foreign organisations, problems remained. Alami's advancing age and his stubborn refusal to delegate responsibility to younger managers exacerbated these problems over the last few years, rendering them almost chronic. In 1983, Dr Bakr Abu Kishik, a Bir Zeit professor, did a study on the ADS in which he proposed ways to save the floundering project. His study laid the groundwork for a salvage operation, after Alami's death, by a Swedish and Norwegian group — an operation which has proven to be a great success.



In spite of the mineral-rich soil and lack of rain, Alami chose to reclaim the Jericho desert. This strip of land is now used for teaching agriculture./MA photo

41-Year-Old Arab Development Society Blooms Anew

believes the ADS farm has the potential to fill West Bank markets with all kinds of dairy products and vegetables. After all, its 8000-dunum area makes it one of the biggest farms in Palestine and in the whole Middle East region. The dairy products are the first to be sold in large quantities by a Palestinian company in the occupied territories. But in order to operate the farm at full capacity, large quantities of water are needed. Out of 29 artesian wells the farm used before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, only three are now operating. The other 26 were ordered closed by the Israeli military, which bars Arab farms in the occupied territories from freely diverting this water to Israeli farms and settlements. Some of the wells were damaged during and after the 1967 war. ADS was never allowed to rebuild them.

In any event, producing enough to fill West Bank markets is not an ADS

and selling it to the Jewish *Keren Kayemeth*.

Alami's Spunky 1944 Initiative

Mousa Alami went to Alexandria in 1944 uninvited. High-ranking representatives from seven Arab countries were meeting there to discuss Arab unity. When no Palestinian was invited, Alami decided to take the initiative and go on his own, after being encouraged by some Palestinian parties. Once there, he was allowed to remain and address the conference about the gradual Zionist takeover of Palestinian land, through purchases from bankrupt landowners and through military might. He spoke on what he perceived as the best way to preserve Palestinian land and to prevent small farmers from abandoning it. Alami told the conference about his idea for the ADS — to reclaim land for farming purposes and to build schools on the project for teaching agricultural and technical skills. Alami wanted to reclaim the Jordan Valley. This was believed to be an impossible task due to the makeup of the land, which was soaked with minerals, and the lack of rain. But Alami, a law graduate from Cambridge University, knew what he was talking about and had strong faith that he could succeed.

The idea at first seemed to win audience approval. But in order to implement it, five million Palestinian pounds were needed over a period of five years. Although the Arab representatives agreed to fund the project, only Iraq later paid its share of 250,000 pounds. Alami used 50,000 pounds of the Iraqi money to purchase land in the upper Jordan Valley from the British government, despite its efforts to discourage him. The British government, as well as other international organisations, sent "experts" to study the feasibility of the project when they learned of Alami's plans. All went home with negative reports. But Alami was never discouraged. He proceeded with his plans. However, when the first Arab-Israeli war broke out in 1948, Alami lost the land he had bought to the Zionists.

After the war, the Jordanian government, which took over control of the West Bank, issued an order claiming the right to all Palestinian money in banks. When Alami learned of this, he withdrew the remaining 200,000 pounds of Iraqi money and fled to Beirut. Rumours spread that he had stolen the money and run away. But while in Beirut, Alami met two foreign officials, one

American and one British. Both told him that it was impossible to save the Palestinian land and urged him to resettle the refugees in other Arab countries. This prompted him instead to return home with the strong conviction that he could help the refugees stay in Palestine despite the odds. He thought if only he could get his ADS project off the ground, he would have accomplished this goal.

Immediately after his return to Transjordan in 1949, Alami met with King Abdullah and explained to him his intentions. He asked the king for land in the lower Jordan Valley near Jericho. Abdullah agreed to the request, not believing that anything could come out of it. He gave Alami 20,000 arid, mineral-filled dunums, known as "dead land." Alami's first project was to dig for artesian wells believed to be near the surface. He planned to wash the land of its minerals and make it some of the richest in Palestine. He tried to purchase digging equipment from the British and

planting all kinds of vegetables. Soon the arid area started blooming where no one believed it could.

Jordan Instigated Local Revolt

The schemes against Alami and his project did not stop. In 1956, after parliamentary elections in Jordan, political opponents of Alami, apparently jealous of his success, stirred up the local Palestinian population against him and his project by claiming it was American-sponsored and aimed at resettling the refugees in land other than their villages which were lost to the Israelis. Leading this campaign was Jordanian parliamentarian Kamel Iriqat. Palestinian refugees in the Jericho area marched to the project by the thousands, destroying everything they found and looting the rest. The project had at that time several hundred refugees working on it and a school in operation for the refugee children. One Jericho resident

Alami in the US and European organisations. In 1973, a conference was held at the farm attended by 43 foreign dignitaries, including Anthony Nutting. The conference theme was the salvation of the farm as a model development project. Due to this outside pressure, the farm was left intact but hampered in its progress.

Between 1967 and 1971, when the Palestinian resistance movement had bases in Jordan, Israeli built strongholds on the farm and used them to fire at the Jordanians and Palestinians on the other side of the Jordan River. This was done in the hope that return fire from Jordan would destroy the farm and the Israelis could claim Arabs had done it. For a while, the Jordanians did retaliate with artillery fire that fell everywhere on the farm, forcing Palestinians to abandon it. Mousa Alami travelled to Jordan and explained the Israeli scheme to King Hussein, who ordered his forces to stop firing at the farms and to be more exact in their shooting.

In addition to causing the destruction from the artillery exchange, the Israeli military shut down all 29 wells on the farm in order to keep the water for its own farms. Without the wells, the farm was useless. Alami then used his international friends once again and succeeded at getting three wells reopened. This hampered his work but did not stop him.

The farm continued to operate but at a very slow pace. Its dairy products were slow in coming and its agricultural yield was only enough to feed the few students and workers remaining on it. Money was scarce, as none of the Arab countries donated anything. In addition, locals also accused Alami of being a dictator and of not allowing a new generation to take over the farm. Several agricultural engineers and administrators had a hard time working with Alami, who was growing old and feeble. They charged that Alami wanted things done his way and would not give them a chance to improve things as they saw fit.

Mousa Alami died in May of 1984. He was almost 90 years old. But before his death, the agreement with Radda Barnen to revive the dairy farms and agriculture had been signed. Another agreement was signed with the Norwegian Refugee Council which, in addition to Radda Barnen, has been the main financier of ADS since 1967. The agreement requires the Norwegians to rebuild the technical school in order to take in as many students as possible. The 20 students currently enrolled are to be expanded to around 100 within two to three years.

Palestinian Management Planned for Future

The Swedes and Norwegians are also planning to train Palestinians to take over the farm once they leave. Almqvist and Salah Alami are optimistic that they will find Palestinian agricultural engineers and administrators to run the farm efficiently. Already five applications have been filed with ADS for jobs on the farm in response to an advertisement placed in the local papers in March asking for managers and agricultural engineers with several years of experience.

Almqvist is also confident that in spite of the fact that Palestinian society is relatively traditional, it will be able to handle the new ideas they are bringing with them. Almqvist and the Norwegians are basing much of their work on the study by Professor Kishik. What was needed was money, management, and international support. ADS seems to have found all three.

What was needed was money, management, and international support ADS seems to have found all three.

wait in line to get the milk. We usually sell all our supply on the first or second day. If anything happens to be left over or turns out to be bad, we return it to ADS and they replace it at no extra cost."

"I am very satisfied with this first year," said Almqvist. "We have done roughly what we hoped to do in this first year. Some investment programmes are delayed, but on the whole we are satisfied."

With its 120 milking cows, the ADS currently produces 2000 litres of milk a day and a large quantity of other dairy products like yogurt, *labaneh*, cheese, butter, and even ice cream, which is its newest addition. All of this is sold in the Jericho, Ramallah, and

and management problems, the plant was inefficiently run.

One shopkeeper in Jerusalem's Beit Hanina suburb who buys ADS dairy products explained the problem: "We were not able to rely on ADS to keep a regular supply of its products coming. One week the ADS van would show up on our doorstep with a promise to be back next week, but then it would not appear for a month or more. This carelessness frustrated us and more importantly our customers, who came especially to ask for ADS products. Consequently, we wanted to stop dealing with them, but they are, after all, a Palestinian company." The shopkeeper thus found himself buying a larger quantity of Israeli dairy products in order to meet customer demand. Even the customers, he said, stopped asking for ADS products after awhile.

Business Picks Up

However, now the picture is totally reversed. The same Beit Hanina shopkeeper: "We get ADS dairy products on a regular basis now, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Their van is here on schedule with enough supply to please us and our customers. Demand is increasing for ADS products, especially the half-litre pasteurised and homogenised milk packets. Sometimes the customers have to



Herds of cattle are now raised at the ADS and used to produce the various dairy products sold in the West Bank./MA photo

Jerusalem areas. Almqvist said he plans to increase milk production to 5000 litres a day by the end of his contract, renewable after four years. He also wants to increase the number of milking cows to 250. The ADS already has several calves who will soon grow enough to give milk to meet Almqvist's goal. He intends to expand sales to include as much of the West Bank as possible. Almqvist worries, however, that this may be a difficult task due to the many financial and political limitations facing ADS.

Ibrahim Matar, an agro-economist,

goal, according to Salah Alami, one of its directors for 15 years. Salah Alami, a distant relative of Mousa Alami, explained that the purpose of the project, as put forth by its founder Mousa Alami during what was known as the Alexandria Conference on September 25, 1944, was to reclaim land believed to be unusable, in order to encourage Palestinian farmers to plough all the land of Palestine to prevent its takeover by their Zionist enemy. It was also intended to become a school where farmers could learn how to make their land more productive so they would stop abandoning the land

With its 120 milking cows, the ADS currently produces 2000 litres of milk a day and a large quantity of other dairy products like yogurt, *labaneh*, cheese, butter, and even ice cream, which is its newest addition.

Americans, but failed to do so. No one wanted to help him reclaim Palestinian land. He then employed several Palestinian refugees and worked with them in manual digging for artesian wells.

After the first well was discovered 30 feet below ground, pressure to kill the project increased. When Alami went to register the land in the name of ADS, the Jordanian government refused permission and instead agreed to register only 8000 dunums of the 20,000 originally given to him. The 8000 dunums were the worst. But Alami continued with his mission and dug more wells. He was able to dig a total of 29 in all, giving him the power to wash the land and make it suitable for agriculture and raising a herd.

By this time Alami had quit politics and concentrated his efforts instead on developing the ADS farm. He built a technical school for refugees and children of Palestinian war dead, and a dairy farm. He ploughed the land and began

who took part in 1956 destruction of ADS remembers those days with remorse: "We were young then. We heard slogans and speeches charging Alami of being an American agent. So we marched by the thousands to the project and destroyed everything we found. I myself stole chickens and sold them in the market."

Alami bounced back and rebuilt the project. A quiet man, he never felt the need to fight his enemies using the same weapons they used against him. He quietly restored the farm to its former state and worked to improve it.

In 1967, after Israel occupied the West Bank, the Israeli military ordered the closure of ADS because of its location on the Jordanian border. Mousa Alami, who was then on a visit to the United States, returned home to try to save his project. For several years, he led an international campaign to preserve ADS. He won international support, especially from the Friends of Mousa



Mousa Alami

Overhaul Experts Arrive

Three Swedes — two agricultural engineers and one administrator — came to Jericho early last year with their families on a mission to revive the long-stalled projects of the Arab Development farm. The three experts came in accordance with an agreement signed in November 1983 between the Swedish organisation "Radda Barnen" (Save the Children Fund) and the ADS board of directors.

Radda Barnen agreed to provide expert leadership for ADS farm projects to put them back on their feet. Love Almqvist, the Swedish administrator who is currently manager of ADS farms, said, "The aim is to put (the ADS) back on its feet in two or three years." Indeed, after only one year, ADS is halfway on the road to accomplishing the one purpose it was originally created for: to reclaim "dead land."

When the Swedes came to Jericho, they realised that "there was much to be done because of lack of money," according to Almqvist. Barely any of the ADS projects were in operation. In 1979 ADS received a new dairy plant donation from Radda Barnen. Dairy products are the main commodity ADS sells. But because of financial shortage

Poverty-stricken, neglected, and chronically overcrowded, a refugee camp is never a heartening phenomenon. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that there are families that have been living in camps for over thirty-five years, raising children and even grandchildren, and preserving some semblance of "normality" to their lives, with all the joy and sorrow, despair and hope that it entails.

And now, the "Refugee Rehabilitation Programme" (also known as the "Ben Porat Plan" — after its author) may well wreak yet another catastrophe upon the Palestinian refugees living under Israeli rule. At present, the High Court of Justice is deliberating whether to establish a precedent that will give the occupation authorities the right to demolish scores of homes in Jabalya camp and thereby turn hundreds of people into refugees twice over.

Historical Background

The hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who were expelled or fled to the Gaza Strip in 1948 never dreamed that they would have to remain there for months, let alone years. They set up temporary accommodations on the outskirts of the cities according to their family ties and places of origin. They received little aid, and what they did receive was mostly from the Quakers.

It was not until 1949 that the United Nations gave the United Nations Relief and Works Agency UNRWA — the refugee relief agency — the go-ahead to tend to the Palestinian refugees. The first thing that UNRWA did was to begin building shelters for them, providing every four persons with nine square metres of living space, without toilet or kitchen facilities. In 1953 UNRWA ran out of funds for construction and ever since then, the refugees have been building their homes on their own. Unable to provide the refugees with homes, UNRWA has provided them with the means and encouragement necessary for constructing homes.

The boundaries of Jabalya camp were established by the situation on the ground: a refugee camp being simply the site on which the Palestinian refugees had their homes. It was not until 1960 that the Egyptian authorities established the official boundaries of the camp, according to the situation on the ground at the time.

Owing to the high birth rate among the Gaza Strip refugees — the highest in the world — they were forced to continue building both in the camp and beyond its borders. UNRWA, being responsible for running the camps (eg. sewage, water and food), became anxious about the disorderly manner of construction, which in certain cases hampered the routine operation of the camps in regards to garbage collection, traffic, and so forth. They requested the Egyptian authorities to draw up a set of building regulations whereby anyone who built without a permit could be legally punished.

The Egyptian ruling, known as Ordinance No. 4, prohibits construction inside the camp without a permit from the authorities and makes unlicensed construction an offence punishable by a fine or prison term. It also permits the authorities to demolish unlicensed structures in certain circumstances. It is worth pointing out that up to 1967, the Egyptian authorities did not demolish a single illegally built house and made do with levying fines.

In 1972 the Israeli military administration in the Gaza Strip decided to "thin out" the refugee camps. Thousands of homes were demolished and thousands of refugees found themselves homeless once again. The dispossessed built homes

The following report is the third publication of the newly established Alternative Information Centre in Jerusalem.



A house, one of many which were demolished in Jabalya refugee camp in 1982.

Jabalya Camp Threatened with Mass Demolition

in various parts of the camps or extended the homes of their relatives.

The Rehabilitation Programme

A number of years ago, the Israeli occupation authorities began implementing the "Refugee Rehabilitation Programme." This ostensibly humanitarian project is actually a ploy to pressure the refugees into giving up their refugee status against their will; needless to say, it does not allow them to return to their original homes.

The "rehabilitation programme" is being implemented in the following manner: various types of pressure are applied to get refugees to agree to leave their camps and build new homes at their own expense on state land in a

high cost of resettlement makes only the very rich eligible, and thus works to lower the camp's already low standard of living.

At the same time, UNRWA is continuing to construct unauthorised structures in the camp for families that fall under the category of "hard welfare cases" — estimating the number of such cases among the Gaza Strip refugee population to be in the vicinity of 21,000 people or 5000 families. But the rehabilitation scheme not only harms the evacuees and those who remain in the refugee camps, it also harms people who have absolutely no connection whatsoever with the camps.

The Beit Lehiya Case

Beit Lehiya is located on state

And now, the "Refugee Rehabilitation Programme" (also known as the "Ben Porat Plan" — after its author) may well wreak yet another catastrophe upon the Palestinian refugees living under Israeli rule.

different part of the Gaza Strip. (Every family that opts in, is given one-quarter of a dunum on a cheap lease basis.) One of the conditions of the scheme is that the refugees demolish their homes in the camp with their own hands; another condition is that they return their refugee papers. In a gesture of benevolence, the state awards every evacuee the ludicrous sum of US\$5000.

According to official estimates, approximately 1000 homes have been demolished in Jabalya and approximately 8000 people have been resettled in the framework of the programme. The

land, Beduin have been living there for decades with the permission of the Egyptian authorities. But the "rehabilitation programme" made it necessary to find a site on which to resettle the refugees and the authorities decided that Beit Lehiya was well suited to their purpose. Thus the Gaza Strip military administration decided to employ another Egyptian ordinance (Ordinance No.5) which prohibits construction on state land and gives the state the right to evict tenants by simply serving them with an administrative order, without recourse to a court of law.

The Israeli High Court ruled that the Israeli government had the right to permit the Beduin to settle on state land in the same way that it had the right to revoke permission to live on state land without regard to how long the residents have been living there. When their petition to the High Court of Justice was rejected, the Beduin were then evicted from Beit Lehiya.

The military administration could not have wished for a more favourable ruling from the High Court; henceforth, they can legally evict whomever they choose from state land by means of an administrative order and without any judicial intervention. The practical meaning of the ruling is that the authorities were given the right to evict anyone whose plot is not registered in his name with the Land Registry Office.

The military administration will now try to implement Ordinance No. 5 in the refugee camps. Except for those plots that are registered as being privately owned, it will now be possible to evict refugees from their camps by serving them with an administrative order.

The Demolition Plan in Jabalya

As far back as 1980, the military administration attempted to demolish 27 houses in Jabalya camp, claiming that they had been illegally built. Represented by attorney Lea Tsemel, the residents obtained an injunction from the High Court on the basis of the fact that six months had elapsed since the alleged offence had been committed. In the wake of the High Court injunction, the state attorney undertook not to demolish the houses without an explicit order to that effect from the court.

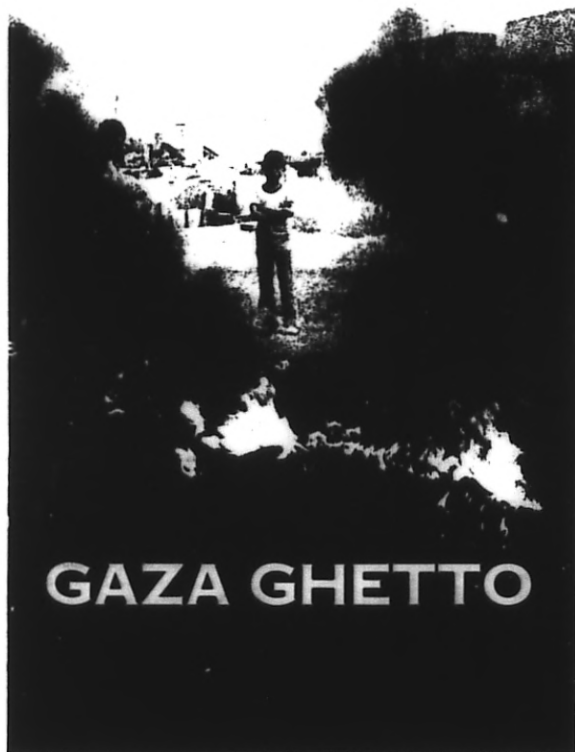
It was a victory for the residents, for in court a building offence is only punishable by a fine or a 15-day prison term; however, in 1982 the administration lodged a complaint against a case of illegal building in a military court, sidestepping the local civil court. Moreover, the charge brought against the Jabalya resident was made on the basis of Egyptian Ordinance No. 5, and not Ordinance No. 4. The shocking precedent established by the Beit Lehiya case did not go unnoticed: if a house can be demolished solely by means of an administrative order, why not apply it across the board?

The residents of Jabalya were left with no choice but to petition the High Court once again; some of them were represented by attorney Mohammed Na'amneh, and some by attorney Lea Tsemel. According to attorney Na'amneh, the residents demand that the case be transferred to a civil court. "They cite the Geneva Convention, which clearly states that military courts may only deal with cases related to the security of the region, and the administration has made no claims on these grounds." Secondly, they demand that "the case be tried according to Ordinance No. 4 and not Ordinance No. 5, as Ordinance No. 4 was enacted for the express purpose of dealing with the refugee camps. Ordinance No. 4 gives the court sole jurisdiction over the demolition of houses, restricting demolition by administrative order to cases in which buildings endanger the safety or routine operation of the camps. In lieu of such circumstances, the court must make do with fining an offender or sentencing him to a short prison term. The Gaza Strip court has never ordered the demolition of a house in a refugee camp unless it truly endangered the safety of the camp."

Continued on page 15



Gaza Ghetto : Documentary of a Palestinian Family



GAZA GHETTO

82 minutes, 16 millimetres, colour, subtitled in English. Also available in video. A documentary film by Pea Holmquist Pierre Bjorklund and Joan Mandell.

by Said Ghazali

What distinguishes the new documentary film *Gaza Ghetto*, about the life of a Palestinian refugee family who has lived in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip since 1948, is its objectivity in depicting the story of the Palestinian refugees. The filmmakers interviewed persons representing both the Israeli and Palestinian sides and were authentic in showing the Palestinians' historic ties with their land as strong bonds which cannot be severed by the occupation and its harassment measures. The film is also characterised by its humane dimension in showing the effects of the iron-fist policy on residents of the Israel-made Palestinian ghetto. People

are shown being beaten by soldiers and detained in roadside ditches. Palestinians made homeless when Israelis destroyed their houses are seen forced to live in tents, shacks, or in the open.

Israeli figures who have master-minded government policy in Gaza — General Ariel Sharon, current Israeli minister of trade and industry; General Ben Eliezer, responsible for Israel's occupation policy; the present Israeli Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin; and Oeh Reuven Rosenblatt, director of Israeli settlements in Gaza — were interviewed by the filmmakers but never succeeded in justifying the collective punishment used against the unarmed Palestinians in the occupied territories. The film also shows evidence of how trees of Gazan farmers were uprooted by Israeli settlers to expand their settlements. The film raises very important questions for view-

ers: What happens to the Palestinian when his relations with the land are severed by the use of force? What are the consequences that may result from implementing measures of harassment to undermine the existence of Palestinians? These questions are not philosophical but are an outcome of the facts of life in *Gaza Ghetto*. To depict today as a continuation of the Palestinian tragedy, the filmmakers showed scenes of the 1948 war and the 1982 war in Lebanon. It is a very sad, realistic, and comprehensive look at the past, present, and future of the conflict between the Palestinian people and the brute force of the occupation. It was almost predictable that this film, which was produced and directed by the noted Swedish filmmaker Pea Holmquist, would be banned from local audiences by the Israeli Board for Censorship for Films and Plays, February 6.

The 82 minute documentary, which was filmed in Jabalya refugee camp, has only been seen by a few Israeli and Palestinian journalists at a private showing at the East Jerusalem Nuzha el-Hakawati Theatre. The banning order, which was signed by censorship board chairperson Y. Yostman, claimed that the film contained "fabricated and not documented facts" and "that it calls on viewers to join the Palestine Liberation Organisation."

"It is obvious that Israeli occupation authorities do not want to publicise the well-documented facts in the film that speak in an objective manner about life conditions in Jabalya's ghetto," said an Israeli journalist from the Hebrew monthly *Derech HaNitzotz*: "All facts of house demolitions, curfews, campaigns of search and arrest, mass expulsion, shooting at demonstrators, killing children, grabbing land, uprooting trees, and all forms of collective punishment shown in the film indicate that life is insecure inside the 'Gaza Ghetto,'" he added. The senior Israeli officials interviewed in the film, like Sharon and Ben Eliezer, made excuses for the collective punishment levied on the camp, including blowing up large sections in Jabalya camp. But their claim that they wanted "to destroy the existence of the PLO" in the Gaza Strip cannot justify the fact that Israeli forces evicted 20,000 people from Gaza camps, destroyed 6300 houses, killed 200 people, and imprisoned 1200 during the brutal 1971 campaign.

The scenes of demonstrations filmed during the wave of protest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1982 deepens the awareness of the Israeli occupiers' brutality in their encounter with growing Palestinian nationalism in the occupied territories. The image of the occupation as illegitimate rises not only in the eyes of the Palestinian refugee residents but also from the hesitant words of Israeli soldiers on patrol whom the filmmakers queried about the occupation.

The nationalist goal of establishing a Palestinian state was also dealt with in the film by dismissing illusions about the political attitude of the Israeli Labour Party. We see the new Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin declaring his rejection of the establishment of the Palestinian state and the withdrawal from the occupied territories.

The film paints a portrait of one Palestinian refugee family from 1948 to 1984 in a social, political, and economic

panorama of Palestinian conditions.

The film story is the everyday life of a refugee family who originated from Dimra village located off the road from Gaza to Tel Aviv. In 1948, 20-year-old Palestinian Abu al-Adel fled with his family as Israeli forces advanced upon their village. Their flight led them to Jabalya for a future in shacks, dependent on UNRWA food rations. Abu al-Adel and his family, after more than 37 years, never abandoned hope of returning to their home village, which is now completely destroyed and the land occupied by an Israeli kibbutz. Today Abu al-Adel, who became a day labourer when his shop in Jabalya was demolished by military authorities, passes the ruins of Dimra every morning on his way to Tel Aviv's illegal labour market where Israeli companies hire Palestinian workers.

The documentary films a visit by Abu al-Adel and his extended family to their home in Dimra where the old, familiar sycamore trees seem to attest to their hope of return. "We lived here and we want to return to our land. The homeless person is a lost person," says Ra'ida, the eldest granddaughter of Abu al-Adel. The trip is made more poignant as the current residents of the place almost drive them off their land. It resembles the fictional trip made by the main character in *Return to Haifa*, a story written by Ghassan Kanafani.

In the film, we meet Abu al-Adel, the eyewitness to tragedy; his daughter, I'tidal, a typical Palestinian mother full of energy and patience; her husband, Mustafa, who spent three years in prison for being a member in a resistance faction; their eldest daughter, Ra'ida, a student at the local UNRWA school who has a well-developed consciousness of the Palestinian cause; and their five smaller children. The family members are shown in their daily life activities experiencing sorrows and joys common to all families. It is also a portrait of thousands of refugee families who fled their hometowns and villages of Palestine for refuge in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

The film contrasts the political and cultural atmosphere of Palestinians with the settlers' newly introduced "culture." The scenes depicting settlements in the Gaza Strip and an actual anniversary celebration of the founding of Israel juxtapose a totally strange culture with the presence of the Palestinian people. The inconclusiveness of the film indicates that the Middle East conflict is still an open-ended issue.

Gaza Ghetto, shot over a two-year period under extremely difficult conditions, is not political propaganda but sad reality. The sycamore trees in Dimra, the military killing of seven-year-old child "Suhail," the imposition of sieges and curfews on camps, and land grabbing and settlement construction are undeniable facts. The film ends in a burst of popular wedding songs which hints at the beautiful past of Gaza. The ending leaves viewers with an optimistic revolutionary impression. It reminds the audience of a time when there was no ghetto in Gaza and no threat undermining the existence of the Palestinian people. In this film we see real people in strength and weakness in times of distress and joy. *Gaza Ghetto* is an important document of the daily events of struggle against occupation.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The National Salvation Front

The past few days witnessed the emergence of the National Salvation Front (NSF) comprising six Palestinian factions and a number of Palestinian figures. The political platform of this front contains the commitment to oppose the Amman agreement and to work for toppling it and confronting the political approach resulting from it.

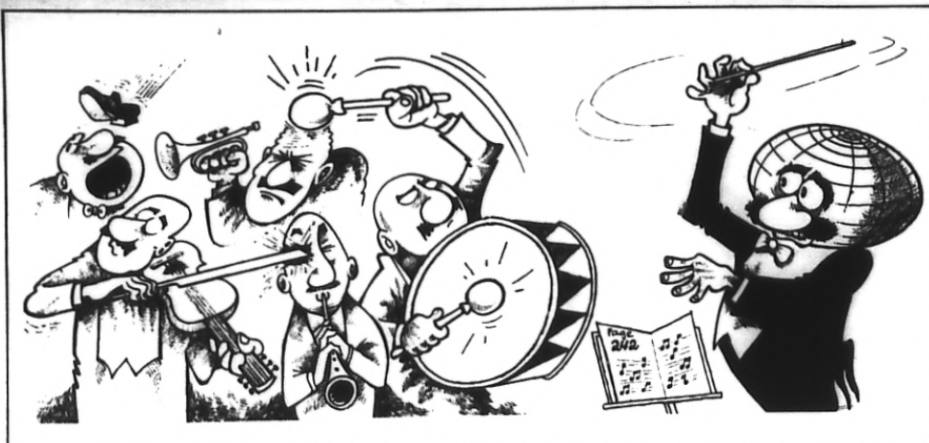
The creation of this front came as a direct reaction to the increasing dependence on the American role, as is clear from the Amman Agreement and the move of the dominant PLO leadership together with the Cairo-Amman axis, which is tied to Washington and its liquidationist plans.

There is no denying the fact that the platform of the front contains many issues on which the front and the parties of the Democratic Alliance, the Communist Party, and the Democratic Front, are agreed upon. They are also agreed upon the strategic alliance with Syria, the revival of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

But they differ with the NSF on some political and organisational issues. One is the presentation of a vision for going out of the circle of the current division, and the restoration of PLO unity. Another is the negligence of the NSF to declare its adherence to the resolutions of the 16th PNC session, thus implying the negligence of Fez resolutions, the Soviet initiative, and the international conference. They also differ on the appropriate formula to rally all the nationalist forces that oppose the Amman Agreement and the surrenderist approach.

The forces that remained outside the NSF framework believe that this framework does not provide the broadest one for action among the various Palestinian forces. It does not also provide a suitable climate for all those opposing the Amman agreement. Some forces still believe that efforts to reunite the PLO are not exhausted yet. The Aden agreement is a suitable basis for unity.

The NSF framework does not also secure the broadest alliances with Arab and international revolutionary forces. The forces that remained outside the



The untimely death of Karim Khalaf, the killing of a Jewish settler in al-Bireh, and the fierce attacks on two Palestinian refugee camps near Sidon were the main stories in the Palestinian papers this week.

All four Jerusalem-based Arabic dailies featured the news of Khalaf's death prominently on the front page. Photos and messages of condolence filled the front and inside pages of all the dailies. *Al Fajr* and *Al Sha'ab* used their editorial space to extol the mayor's virtues and praise his leadership role in the Palestinian struggle. Telegrams of condolence from Palestinian leaders Arafat, Habash, Hawatmeh, and Abu Jihad were also prominently displayed in the local papers.

The killing at close range of an Israeli settler working in the al-Bireh municipality and the subsequent curfew slapped on the twin towns of Ramallah and al-Bireh was similarly highlighted.

Attacks on the Palestinian refugee camps of Ain al Hilweh and Mia Mia by the right-wing Lebanese militias supported by Samir Ja'ja' and Antoine Lahad were featured in the local papers during the past week.

NSF think they can play an important role through keeping the Democratic Alliance struggling against the Amman Agreement and the surrenderist approach.

them by Fatah for conducting a national dialogue. Any delay in this regard will harm the cause. For neither Syria nor the rapid developments can wait.

AL TALIA
March 28

AL FAJR
March 29

The Decisive Reply

The wave of condemnation of the so-called dissident "National Salvation Front" (NSF) is growing in the occupied territories. Meanwhile, the importance of national dialogue that would lead to national unity within the framework of the PLO with its legitimate leadership is being perpetuated.

The Damascus regime tries, through the creation of this dissident front and lending it full support, to impose an alternative against the will of the Palestinian people, and against Arab and international legitimacy. This regime is distorting the Palestinian cause and impeding the effective Palestinian role in the area.

Though the "six" factions that abided by Syrian patronage in forming the Front (NSF) do not really represent except a very small portion of the Palestinian political movement, the outcome of this new reality makes it extremely necessary to keep isolating this margin, and to consider it as completely outside the whole Palestinian issue. It also emphasises the inevitability of the national dialogue with all the forces that oppose this front. Foremost among them are the Democratic Front and the Communist Party. These two parties, which are still criticising both sides, are required now to receive the hand extended to

The Central Task

We reckon that every objective observer can say decisively that the formation of the Salvation Front in the Syrian regime's capital was met by the ordinary Palestinians with reactions ranging between indifference coupled with contempt and condemnation.

Such reactions are logical and natural because our people realise the impossibility of forming any alternative to the PLO, which the people built, protected, and defended. The people won't allow anyone to assault the PLO under any circumstances. Also, the masses of our people realise the dangers of forming such a front.

The people's reaction means a death certificate for this dissident front only just born, because it runs counter to the hopes and aspirations of the people.

The whole issue should become an entrance to dialogue among Fatah, the Democratic Front, the Communist Party, and the Palestinian Liberation Front, all of whom signed the Aden-Algiers accord. This dialogue should be conducted in the spirit of this accord, with the aim of restoring PLO unity and strengthening its legitimate institutions.

AL SHA AB
March 30

The New Conspiracy

No sooner had Israel begun its first stage of withdrawal, when signs of expected massacres began to appear in the south against Palestinian camps. The PLO has repeatedly warned of such a possibility.

But the isolationist forces backed by Israel, Syria, and the Lebanese authorities, directly or indirectly, thought that the opportunity was ripe for them to destroy the Palestinian camps and carry out what others have failed to achieve.

Despite the rumoured differences between the Lebanese government and Samir Ja'ja' on one side and between the Syrian regime and Ja'ja' on the other hand, both official Lebanon and the Syrian regime are trying to take advantage of the massacres perpetrated by the Phalange gangs and others. The Syrian regime is trying to cancel the Palestinian role altogether.

Israel, of course, is making the most of the situation. It is implementing the second and third stages of its withdrawal, leaving Lebanon torn with disputes. The Syrian regime is to be held responsible for the massacres in the south Lebanon camps. The Syrian regime is mistaken if it believes that it can get to our camps in the south under cover of the Salvation Front, the Israeli occupation, and the gangs of Samir Ja'ja'. It will only create more slaughters because our camps are able to reveal the Syrian conspiracy.

AL FAJR
April 1

Bigger Than Words

Karim Khalaf left us too early, at a time when we are in bad need of men like him. Abu al-Amjad won the confidence of our people because he proved that he is sincere and loyal. He was the mouthpiece of this people in the hardest of times in expressing this people's adherence to its land and rights. He was one of the most prominent figures in the occupied territories since 1967. Karim's death is a loss to the Palestinian movement.

AL SHA'AB
April 1

Karim Khalaf: the Promise... and the March

On "Land Day," the great fighter Karim Khalaf passed away. But the torch will never die out. The march will go on. We derive inspiration from martyrs and will follow in their footsteps. Karim Khalaf struggled for a long time, leaving signs of his struggle on every inch of his homeland.

From Ramallah to the Palestinian horizon, to the whole world, the son of the Palestinian people, Karim Khalaf, established his footsteps within the PLO with its legitimate leadership. He worked for national unity and the rights of the Palestinian people. Karim was a brave leader and an effective citizen.

AL FAJR
April 2

New Report Says Israelis Control Most of West Bank Land

Israel now controls 52 percent of the West Bank land, according to a report just issued by Israeli researcher Meron Benvenisti.

The report, released by Benvenisti's West Bank Data Base Project March 29, says that the Israeli authorities have direct control over 41 percent of the land through land seizures and declaring it state land. Building and farming on the other 11 percent is forbidden by order of the Israeli nature reserve authority, making the 570,000 dunums effectively under the control of the Israeli government.

The report, which was compiled primarily by researchers Usama Halabi and Aharon Turner, says that in 1973 the West Bank areas registered as state land in the Jordanian registry amounted to 700,000 dunums. This figure has doubled since the Likud takeover in 1977. The report also said that the land with established settlements amounts to 140,000 dunums, or seven percent of the total Israeli-controlled land. This area is enough to house 800,000 to 1 million settlers. Building is also forbidden on the 300,000 dunums surrounding the settled areas.

The report was unavailable to the news media as of press time. The following is excerpted from a *Jerusalem Post* report March 31.

"Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, says that the various methods used by the authorities for land seizure and control interest legal experts only — since the Israeli administration, the Israeli settlers and the Palestinians view them as one interchangeable and indistinguishable system."

"The settlement of Ofra, for instance, consists of 350 dunums of Jordanian government land, 20 dunums of 'compulsorily

purchased land' and 140 requisitioned dunums. Shilo settlement consists of 740 dunums seized for military purposes, 850 dunums of so-called 'state land,' and 41 dunums expropriated for 'public purposes.'

"A soon-to-be-approved master plan for road construction in the West Bank will expropriate another 100,000 dunums, Benvenisti noted. 'The road network is designed to bypass Arab population centres and to fragment and dissect Arab housing regions.'

"The entire eastern third of the West Bank and considerable parts of the western area have been designated for the exclusive use of Israelis — whether official (closed military areas and firing ranges for instance), communal (nature reserves) or private (settlement). 'In this area only Israeli planning and implementation operate based on Israeli standards, interests, and national priorities,' the study notes.

"Almost half the seized area has been taken for military purposes which receive the highest priority.

"Benvenisti notes that while this process was started under the Alignment governments, it was accelerated under the Likud and particularly in the aftermath of the 1979 Camp David accords with the proposed autonomy scheme.

"Such drives to control land are typical of all 'settler societies,' Benvenisti says, 'from Algeria to the Cape Colony.' In 1947 Jews controlled less than 10 percent of all of Mandatory Palestine. In the 38 years since then the picture has been completely reversed so that now Arabs are left in possession of 15 percent.

"Benvenisti argues that the Israeli land seizures might meet the requirements of the law but it is rather in the manner of 'rule

by law' rather than the 'rule of law' since it ignores all principles of natural justice."

Commenting on the study, Faisal Hussein, head of the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem, said that he accepts the validity of Benvenisti's data but rejects some of his analysis. Hussein says it is not true that "because so much land is lost it is too late for any solution." He believes that regardless of the amount of land under Israeli control, settlers and settlements, everything is reversible if there is a political solution to the problem.

Hussein said the present settlement system is merely a question of the transfer of housing of some Israelis from Israel to the occupied territories. It does not mean the building of settlements to accommodate an ever increasing number of immigrants, as Israel often claims. Hussein asserts the number of Jews coming to Israel is now equal to or less than the number leaving. Considering the high Palestinian birth rate, Israeli authorities will have a difficult decision to make in the next 10-20 years, said Hussein. "Either they give us our rights and thus help us accomplish our dream of a secular democratic state or they will have to enforce an apartheid system to rule what will be the majority Arab population," he said.

In Washington, State Department spokesperson Bernard Kalb told reporters that "the US regards settlement activity in the occupied territories as an obstacle to the peace process." Kalb noted, however, that the State Department doesn't share the view that activities on the ground "rule out the possibility of a negotiated settlement." The State Department also said that the "US will not support annexation or permanent control of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel."

Israelis Claim 'Discovery' of Jericho Tourist Site

Jerusalemite Mohammed Shahwan charged April 2 that Israeli authorities and news media are claiming credit for the discovery of an archaeologically significant site which his family has owned and conducted tours to since 1936.

The find — a mosaic floor containing Hebrew inscriptions — was discovered by Yusef Nasser. The property, however, has been owned by the Shahwan family since before 1940 but was taken over by the Israeli authorities in October 1982. According to Shahwan, who has photographs of the site being taken over by the authorities, the Israelis have only made cosmetic changes to the area.

This week on April 1 the Jericho military governor participated in a ceremony in which the site was shown to the press. Shahwan told *Al Fajr* that his family, which lived on top of the site, had shown it to visitors for the past 45 years. "The British, Jordanian, and Israeli authorities were aware of the site and were pleased with the way we kept it up," he said. Shahwan said that his family paid an employee to guard the site and regulate visitors to it. A postcard of the site printed shortly after the '67

occupation shows no discernable difference since the Israeli takeover.

In the summer of 1982 Israeli authorities approached Shahwan and asked to either buy or rent the site. He refused. A few months later, in October, he was handed a takeover order regarding the site, the building above it, and a small land area around it, amounting to one dunum and 300 metres.

Since then Shahwan has been trying to regain his property. He told *Al Fajr* that if present negotiations fail, he will have to take the case to court. "We have complete government-issued documents of ownership, and for 16 years the Israelis were happy with the way we took care of the site. Why do they have to kick us out of it?" he asked. Shahwan has also complained that in recent months he has been receiving warnings from the Israeli archaeological authorities in Jerusalem and Bethlehem districts against watering the trees on his land around the site. Shahwan has 41 dunums around the site which are planted with citrus trees and bananas. Shahwan believes the Israeli warnings are aimed at eventually taking over the land.

Taibeh

continued from page 16

confront Israeli domination over the Arabs. The Arab students' representative asked for assistance to Arabs at Israeli universities

in their fight against discriminatory administration policies. He said there are two Arab students from Haifa University in detention now for resisting anti-Arab policy. He also said police at a roadblock outside Taibeh refused to let them into the village to participate in the Land Day celebration so they walked two hours in the mountains to get to Taibeh.

Surif

Continued from page 7

Amman, Jordan to register the cooperative. She said she had no trouble getting Jordanian support. Problems, however, soon surfaced when the papers were sent to the Israeli military governor in Beit El, near Ramallah. Without giving a reason, the Israeli military authorities twice refused to register the cooperative, between 1981 and 1983. Finally, the women hired a well-known Israeli lawyer, Arnold Spear, to take the case to the Israeli High Court. The legal threat reaped immediate results, and before the court could hear the case, the cooperative was informed that its application was accepted. Shortly thereafter, in November 1983, the cooperative received its licence, printed in Arabic and Hebrew. The Israeli military governor of Hebron then summoned a number of cooperative activists and told them that the delay in granting the licence was due to the military's desire to make

sure they would not be involved in "subversive activities."

Although the cooperative's name suggests that it is involved in all kinds of needlework, the more than 350 members and workers do embroidery only. Co-op members decorate their different products with traditional Palestinian embroidery. Sometimes new designs based on Palestinian folklore are used. Among their most recent experiments — not yet on the market — were two designs prepared by Bir Zeit artist Suleiman Mansour.

The cooperative usually works according to customer orders. Occasionally, they make their own products which they sell in the West Bank. They make such items as curtains, towels, pillow cases, handbags, dresses, bookmarks, and pictures. The cooperative's products are also on permanent display at a boutique at the Mennonite Central Committee in Jerusalem. Several other shops in Jerusalem also sell their products.

Women are assigned to fill customer orders within a specific period of time. "We have two women who go out and distribute work to our workers in

the six centres," Su'ad told *Al Fajr*. The cooperative also has its own embroidery expert who does special order designs for those customers who don't have samples of what they want. One woman, Su'ad, an embroidery expert, is a veteran worker in the Mennonite project. She insists that all their products are part of Palestinian heritage and that many of the designs that do not look familiar are actually old designs which have been revived by the cooperative.

Co-op members stress the influence their establishment has had on the way village residents perceive women. Su'ad, who frequently travels between Surif and the cooperative centres, said that it was very difficult at first for her to travel every day. "Everybody used to criticize me when I got on the bus with workers in the morning," she said. She added that people have become used to it. In the beginning, everybody opposed the co-op and few were willing to work, al-Akel said. But when people saw the economic revenues that flowed in, they began to accept it. Su'ad called the cooperative "a blessing to the village," adding that "it has taught us everything."

We now deal on our own with banks, lawyers, customers, and even the military authorities." She explained that the Palestinian women are now working on building a new headquarters and are making all the necessary contacts with the military authorities, the zoning department, and other offices to get the blueprints done. "It would not have been possible for women to do all this before the cooperative was established," she said.

Dajani, the cooperative advisor, stressed that village residents came to accept the new role of women because it developed within the cultural norms of the village. She explained that they never tried to challenge village customs openly but always encouraged the women not to be afraid to talk to men or to do their duties in order to get the cooperative work done. Many of the women now say that the co-op is very important to the village. Meanwhile, more and more women are joining it every day. "The cooperative has become part of our lives and it will continue to grow and develop," said Su'ad.

WEEKLY REVIEW

March 27, 1985

PLO DENOUNCES NEW FRONT

The Palestine Liberation Organisation officially rejected the formation of a Syrian-sponsored Palestine National Salvation Front comprising six groups opposed to the PLO leadership.

"The PLO and its leadership, who were following continued statements about the near formation of the Salvation Front, was waiting for these brothers to realise in the last moment the seriousness of the step and instead meet the hand the PLO had extended to them," a spokesman for the PLO said.

He said the Palestinian people assembled around the PLO and its legitimate leadership disapprove this new move, "which is denounced by our people in the occupied territories and outside, as well as the Arab masses, their nationalist forces and world public opinion."

DFLP DENOUNCES "SALVATION FRONT"

Yasir Abed Rabo, deputy general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, criticized the formation of a Salvation Front by six Palestinian groups.

Abed Rabo said that any organisation parallel to the PLO at this time will not serve the mission of renewing the political and mass struggle.

"Such a step diverts attention from the central and direct mission facing the Palestinian people and increases schisms in the Palestinian arena," Abed Rabo added.

BETHLEHEM YOUTH JAILED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 'Atef Hassan of Bethlehem to a fine of IS100,000 or a six-month imprisonment on political charges. Because he refused to pay the fine, Hassan was sent to prison for six months.

4 GAZANS JAILED

GAZA — Four youths from the Gaza Strip were sentenced to various prison terms by the Israeli military court in Gaza on political offences.

Hatem Othman, Ibrahim Anis Mansour, and Ibrahim Mohammed al-Baz were sentenced to four years in prison and three years suspended on charges of membership in Palestinian organisations and throwing bombs at Israeli soldiers.

The fourth youth, Bader al-Ekawi, was sentenced to 17 months in prison and 18 months

suspended on charges of possessing a bomb.

2 ROOMS SEALED IN KALANDIA HOMES

KALANDIA — The Israeli authorities blocked off several rooms with cement in two houses in Kalandia refugee camp after detaining two Palestinians suspected of membership in an illegal organisation.

Israel Radio said the two detainees, Ahmad Sayed Shehadeh and Issa Ahmad Tayeh, are also suspected of killing a collaborator. They were detained about 45 days ago.

AL-ATRASH LEAVES FOR AMMAN

BEIT SAHOUR — Beit Sahour Mayor Hanna al-Atrash left for Amman to discuss issues related to the municipality's projects with Jordanian officials.

GAZA PRISONER KILLED IN CELL

GAZA — Palestinian political prisoner Yunis Sa'id al-Abdullah, 23, of Gaza, was found dead in his cell in Gaza prison, Israel Radio said. A doctor determined that al-Abdullah had been strangled to death.

The radio said his cell mate, who is also a political prisoner, had confessed to killing al-Abdullah, who was serving a six-month jail sentence on security charges.

March 28, 1985

BOB BOMB DISMANTLED IN TALPIOT

JERUSALEM — Police safely dismantled a small bomb found in the southern Talpiot Israeli industrial suburb of Jerusalem.

The radio said a clerk at a bank in Talpiot noticed a suspicious parcel placed on a bicycle outside the building. Police called to the scene said it was a small bomb and dismantled it.

TEENAGER JAILED 6 MONTHS

GAZA — The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced student Anis Abd al-Karim Sa'ed, 16, of Nablus to six months in prison and five months suspended on charges of stone-throwing and erecting roadblocks.

2 BOMBS IN SCHOOLS

RAMALLAH — Israeli bomb experts exploded a bomb found at the entrance to Aziz Shaheen Girls' Secondary School in Ramallah. The explosion shattered several windows in the building.



Latin Patriarch Ya'qoub Beltriti at Palm Sunday celebrations March 31, 1985. The procession began from the Mount of Olives and ended at Lions Gate./AO photo

but no one was hurt. The bomb was discovered by the school janitors, who informed the headmistress, who in turn summoned the police. Another bomb found at the Boys' Secondary School in Ramallah was safely detonated by a police sapper.

BZU STUDENTS FREED

Israeli authorities released Hakam Qadri of Salfit village after 22 days in detention and Atef al-Shweikh of al-Shate' camp after 27 days in detention.

The two, both students at Bir Zeit University, were arrested last month when the army raided the university's new campus.

CAMPERS WANT RATIONS

RAMALLAH — The residents of Jalazon and Am'ari refugee camps refused to receive their rations from UNRWA. The residents demand that rations be given to all residents without exception, and not just to hardship cases.

PETROL BOMB IN TULKARM

TULKARM — Unidentified persons threw a petrol bomb at al-Sha'ab Pharmacy in Tulkarm Wednesday night. Part of the pharmacy was destroyed by a blaze caused by the explosion. Police arrested one person for interrogation.

NABLUS PROBLEMS

NABLUS — Members of the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Nablus met with officials of the military government and discussed with them deteriorating health, social, and economic conditions in the city.

March 29, 1985

HIZMAH LAND SURVEYED

HIZMAH — Resident Issa Nazal Abdullah Askar of Hizmah vil-

lage, just north of Jerusalem, found Israeli engineers and surveyors working on his land. An Israeli tractor driver was working on the same landplot last week.

CELL NO. 9

HAIFA — Palestinian political prisoners in cell no. 9 in Jalimeh prison sent a letter to the prison director complaining against the degrading treatment by prison authorities and calling for an end to discrimination against Arab prisoners.

HARASSMENT BAIL

The Israeli military court in Tulkarm ordered the release of Najib Farah, 22, of Dheisheh camp on a IS1 million pending his trial. His sentence, given later in the day, was a fine of IS400,000.

March 31, 1985

POLICE CAR STONED IN BEIT HANINA

JERUSALEM — An Israeli police car was stoned as it passed through the northern Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina. The car's windshield was smashed by the stones, but no one was hurt.



For the second consecutive day, studies were suspended at Najah National University in Nablus after the Israeli army set up roadblocks at the entrances to the university and prevented students from entering the campus. Roadblocks were also set up at the entrances to Nablus. JH/photo.

HEBRON MERCHANTS DETAINED

HEBRON — Israeli troops detained a number of shopowners in Hebron after a military vehicle was pelted with stones in al Shalleh Street in the town. No injuries were reported.

BRITISH CONSUL GENERAL IN GAZA

GAZA — The British consul general in Jerusalem visited the Gaza Strip and met with Haj Rashad al-Shawwa, Dr Haidar Abd al-Shafi, Haj Hashem Atta, and lawyer Fayed Abu Rahmeh. They discussed the current political situation and conditions in the Gaza Strip.

LAWYER BARRED FROM MEETING DETAINEE

NAZARETH — Advocate Aziz Shehadeh was prevented by Israeli police from meeting detainee Ghassan Taha of Kufir Kanna on the pretext that his interrogation was not over yet. Taha has been in detention for three days allegedly for throwing a petrol bomb at an army vehicle.

April 1, 1985

ISLAMIC U. TEACHER JAILED

GAZA — The Israeli military

court in Gaza sentenced Sheikh Abd al-Aziz Odeh, a teacher at the Islamic University in Gaza and *khatib* (preacher) of al-Qassam Mosque in Beit Lahya, to 11 months in prison and three years suspended on charges of illegal political activities and incitement.

WOMEN SUPPORT ASQALAN DETAINEES

ASQALAN — A group of women from the Democratic Women's Movement demonstrated outside the offices of the Prisons Administration in Jerusalem in support of a partial hunger-strike declared by political prisoners at Asqalan prison for the last two months.

NABLUS UNION MEETING BANNED

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities banned a meeting called by the coordinating committee of the Worker's Federation in Nablus to discuss the payment of salaries to the Nablus municipality employees who are on strike. The meeting was scheduled for Sunday.

RAWDAH COLLEGE SUSPENDS STUDIES

NABLUS — Studies have been suspended at the al-Rawdah College in Nablus until further notice after the Israeli military seized ID's from a number of students.

Karim Khalaf

(Continued from page 1)

with Tripoli, Libya and pushed the Joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee to support factories in the Ramallah area. The mayor initiated improvements in the city's sewage system, opened roads, provided street lights, and considerably improved services for Ramallah's 22,000 residents.

Khalaf and twin-city Mayor Ibrahim Tawil of al-Bireh worked together on a number of joint projects. Plans to build a community butchery and to finish the Ramallah theatre and community centres were thwarted, however, when the Israelis blocked municipal funds and later dispensed with the municipalities altogether.

Khalaf also made a major contribution by conveying the Palestinian point of view locally and internationally. In the crucial post-Camp David period, Khalaf stood out as one of the main opponents to the accords and to the proposed "autonomy scheme" for the occupied territories. Along with other prominent nationalists, he was influential in the National

2 GAZANS JAILED

GAZA — The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Mansour Abu Uweid to seven months in prison and 13 months suspended, and Na'im Thalji to eight months in prison and 10 months suspended. The two Gaza Strip residents were convicted on security charges.

April 2, 1985

YATTA HOUSE BULLDOZED

HEBRON — Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of Mahmoud Abd al-Mutaleb Abu Snehineh on the Yatta-Zeif-Hebron road on the pretext that it was illegally constructed.

GAZAN JAILED FOR ARMS

GAZA — The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Nahed Abd al-Rahim Tafesh to two-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended on charges of possessing weapons.

HAIFA STUDENT TOWN-ARRESTED

HAIFA — University student Omar Said of Kufr Kana village in the Nazareth district has been placed under town

3 SENTENCED FOR STONES

NABLUS — The Nablus military court sentenced student Amjad Ibrahim al-Qassem to six months in prison and 13 months sus-

gated at Khalaf's Ramallah home to give their condolences to the family.

In comments to *Al Fajr* English, Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka's paid tribute to Khalaf's political role in the resistance to occupation. He described Khalaf as a "leader and initiator during a very difficult period of the struggle of the Palestinian people under occupation." Shaka's praised Khalaf for being an active and major contributor in the founding of the second National Front in early 1970s and a leading figure in the National Guidance Committee in the late 1970s.

Ibrahim Tawil, mayor of al-Bireh, called Khalaf "a brother and a friend." Tawil said that Khalaf's departure will leave a gap in the Palestinian national movement. Shaka's and Tawil were targeted in the same attack by settlers in 1980 which crippled Khalaf. Shaka's lost both his legs and Tawil escaped uninjured.

Reverend Odeh Rantisi, Khalaf's deputy during his last six years at the Ramallah municipality, said that Khalaf committed his life to serve his people and was a lover of peace and justice: "He was an example to the people of Ramallah, joining the people in their sorrows and their joys, and continuously encouraged them to remain on their



Israeli soldiers "on parade" in Jerusalem's Old City during the merchants' strike for Land Day./RI photo

arrest by Israeli authorities. According to the town arrest order, the sixth against Said, he is not allowed to leave his village during the day and must remain at home in the night. Said is a student at the Technion College in Haifa.

pendent and Mu'in Mousa Breikah and Jamal al-Hasis to seven months in prison and 12 months suspended. The three, all residents of Jenin, were found guilty of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

UNIV. LECTURER SENTENCED

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Mashhur al-Jabazi, a lecturer at the Jerusalem University, to two years in prison and two years suspended on charges of mem-

bering in the PLO.

UNIONIST JAILED FOR MOVING

JERUSALEM — Unionist Ali Abu Hilal of the village of Abu Dis south of Jerusalem was sentenced by the Ramallah military court to 17 days in prison and five-and-a-half months suspended on charges of violating a town arrest order imposed on him in August 1984. Abu Hilal has been under town arrest in his village since January 4, 1984.

with the PLO, and especially the leftist groups.

Agence France Presse, in a dispatch from Jerusalem, described Khalaf as "the first enemy of the Israeli occupation."

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat sent condolences via telegram to Khalaf's widow Therese: "In the name of the Palestinian revolution I convey to you and to your daughters, Vivian and Daniela, and to our steadfast people under occupation, condolences for the death of Karim, who was a comrade in the struggle." The general secretaries of the Popular Front, George Habash, and the Democratic Front, Nayef Hawatmeh, and Palestine Communist Party politbureau member Suleiman Najjab sent similar telegrams.

Khalaf was born in Ramallah in 1934. He studied law in Egypt and worked as a legal advisor and a public prosecutor to the Jordanian government in the Jericho area. After 1967 he worked as a prosecutor in the Hebron area until he ran for election and won the mayorship in his hometown of Ramallah, in 1972.

Khalaf ran for re-election in 1976 as the head of a nationalist bloc under the slogan: "Yes to the PLO, no to the civil administration."

The *Jerusalem Post* credited Khalaf with being "one of the organisers of the widespread opposition to Camp David." Hebrew daily *Hadashot* called Khalaf a local hero and said he had "strong sympathies" and ties

years — that was built with a permit."

The truth is that the administration is even planning to demolish houses that were built with the proper legal permits. Attorney Na'ameh has a building permit signed by the Egyptian governor, Ahmad Siwi. But, he claims, that has not prevented the administration from claiming that all the houses were built without the proper legal authorisation and to earmark them for demolition.

The legal campaign may perhaps

thwart or at least postpone the implementation of this decree... until the Israeli authorities adjust the law to their needs in regard to the implementation of the "rehabilitation programme." But the residents of Jabalya know that their only hope for saving their homes and escaping the fate of becoming refugees for the second, and for some the third, time is a broad show of solidarity with their plight from both inside Israel and abroad.

Jabalya

(Continued from page 10)

According to attorney Lea Teemol, "The administration intends to revoke Ordinance No. 4 in practice, if not officially, and thereby relegate the houses in the camp to the same status as unlicensed houses built on state land. Our campaign revolves around an at-

tempt to prove that the Egyptian administration did not enact two different ordinances by chance. Ordinance No. 4 clearly establishes the special status of the refugee camps and covers cases of unlicensed construction on state land. If the High Court of Justice does not rule in our favour, the administration will be able to demolish thousands of homes in the Gaza Strip refugee camps since there is practically no house there — not to speak of extensions added on over the

Since the first call for mass demonstration March 30, 1976 to express opposition to the confiscation of Palestinian land, the Palestinians inside Israel have set aside Land Day to illustrate their strong attachment to Palestinian soil. The Committee for the Defence of Land — a bipartisan group led by the Anglican priest from Kufr Yasif Reverend Shehadeh Shehadeh — has for the past nine years organised central protest rallies on this important day. As before, this year's events took place in three different locations: in the Galilee at Sakhnin, in the Triangle at Taibeh, and in the Naqab at Rahat. *Al Fajr* correspondents participated in the three events and filed the following reports:

Sakhnin Hosts Main Event for Land Day, 1985

A large rally was organised to commemorate Land Day in the Galilee village of Sakhnin March 30. Thousands of people gathered in the Sakhnin school courtyard and listened to more than a dozen speakers. Many others climbed up to the top of school buildings to watch the proceedings. From time to time the crowd chanted nationalist, anti-Zionist, and anti-reactionary slogans.

Sakhnin's rally was the largest of three planned for Land Day by the Regional Committee for the Defence of Land. The village is especially significant because it was the main scene of the incidents on the first Land Day in 1976, when police killed six people during popular protests against land confiscation. Most recently the Israeli army destroyed 1350 olive trees planted on 800 Sakhnin dunums last January without cause, an action which the government later admitted was an error.

Before the rally started, there were three big marches from Deir Hanna, Arrabeh, and Sakhnin. The seven-kilometre-long Deir Hanna-Sakhnin road was blocked off from traffic for three hours, as the marchers walked towards the Sakhnin school carrying placards and the Palestinian flag. They also chant-

ed slogans about land, the Palestinian national struggle, and the national Lebanese resistance: "With blood and spirit we redeem the Galilee," "... Palestine," "from Nabatieh to Metulla, the popular war continues," "Greetings from the Golan to south Lebanon," "America collect your money, tomorrow the Arab people will trample you," "Hussein and Mubarak are collaborators to America" ... and so on.

The speakers focused on the necessity of defending land and achieving a just peace through an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

The rally was led by Mohammed Ghannayem, head of the Sakhnin local council, who said: "Our Palestinian people proves itself every day on the world map."

The first speaker was Reverend Shehadeh Shehadeh, head of the Committee for the Defence of Land: "There cannot be peace under occupation. Israel should withdraw from Lebanon and recognise the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own state on national soil. They must know that we will not relinquish our land, whatever the price may be."

Mohammed Ibrī Nasser, head of the Arrabeh local council, emphasised the necessity of preserving national unity and the achievements of the Palestinian people.

Emil Habibi, a writer and the editor of *Al Ittihad*, the Communist Party newspaper, spoke about the effectiveness of the uncompromising struggle of the Palestinian masses in Israel. He also talked about Israel's "iron fist" policy in south Lebanon and against Palestinian university students in Israel and the West Bank.

Advocate Mohammed Kiwan, a member of the Committee for the Defence of Land, called for the development of the committee and the expansion of its membership. He also called on "brothers in the PLO to restore unity to the organisation on the basis of the Aden-Algiers agreement."

MK Mohammed Wadat from Mapam Party spoke about his recent meeting with Arafat's advisor, Ahmad Chacour, in Germany. Wadat was repeatedly interrupted by the crowd from the beginning and then was forced to leave.

Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, spoke about cooperation between Arabs and Jews and called



Golan Heights demonstrators at the Land Day celebration in Sakhnin in the Galilee call for Palestinian-Syrian unity, BA photo

for the reinforcement of this cooperation to "foil the Israeli policy of oppression and land confiscation." Mahmoud Said, leader of the Progressive List for Peace branch in Arrabeh, called for the development of land. He announced that his movement has collected donations totalling US\$500,000 for this purpose, and that US\$200 will be allocated for each dunum reclaimed.

Mohammed Abu Rayya, from the Abna' al-Balad movement, praised the national unity of the Palestinian student movement in Israeli universities. He condemned the Arafat-Hussein agreement and the "deviantist policy followed by the rightist

trends within the PLO" and called for the reinforcement of Palestinian national unity. He also greeted the Lebanese national resistance movement, "which has made big achievements on the level of struggle against Israel."

From the Golan Heights, Muhanna Kadamani conveyed greetings to the Palestinian people from villages and called on Arabs and Jews to reinforce the unity of struggle for a just peace in the Middle East.

Samih al-Qassem recited a poem, and then Reverend Shehadeh Shehadeh closed the meeting with a call for unity and protection of land.

Taibeh Organises Land Day Rally

Close to 4000 Palestinian and Israelis participated in the ninth anniversary of Land Day in the Triangle village of Taibeh March 30. The celebration started around 2:45 pm with a march through the village streets and ended an hour later at the city centre for a memorial for Ra'fat Zuhairi, a Taibeh resident who was killed in the first Land Day protest in 1976. The demonstrators carried signs saying: "With national unity we will protect the land and defeat racism" and "Cancel orders to close off large areas of Arab land in the Galilee, Triangle and Naqab (on the pretext of military exercises)."

Saliba Khamis, secretary of the Regional Committee for the Defence of Land, which is in charge of Land Day celebrations throughout the country, called for national unity as the only way to confront expropriation

of Arab land. Khamis said the Taibeh celebration was distinguished this year by the fact that all local Palestinian political lines were represented, all having agreed to set aside differences out of respect for Land Day.

Speakers also included: Tawfiq Zayyad, Nazareth mayor and Knesset member; MK Mohammed Mi'ari, from the Progressive List for Peace; MK Charlie Biton, leader of the Black Panthers and member of Democratic Front for Peace and Equality; Israel Shahak, head of the League of Human and Civil Rights; Hashem Mahamid, mayor of Um al-Fahm; Abd al-Latif Habib, head of the Taibeh local council; Raja Aghbariyeh, from the Abna' al-Balad movement; Abd al-Aziz Abu Usba', from the Nahda movement; Latif Douri, from Mapam; Yaffa Gavish, representing the various progressive Jewish

women's organisations; Yehuda Spiegel, whose son was killed in the Lebanon war; Anwar Daoud, member of the Arab Students' Committee at Hebrew University; and Abed Nimr al-Dier, from Kufr Qassem.

Habib told the crowd that in 1976, when the Arabs within the "green line" began their Land Day demonstration, the Israeli government had confiscated 26,000 dunums of Arab land in the Galilee. He said that since 1948, "more than half a million dunums of Arab land have been expropriated." Habib urged the Knesset members to protect Arab land and rights.

Hashem Mahamid, whose village received municipal status only last week after a nine-year battle with the interior ministry for that purpose, said that out of an original 148,000 dunums, only 20,000 dunums remain today

for Um al-Fahm's 25,000 Arab residents. The rest had been expropriated by the Israelis.

Zayyad warned that the "conspiracy on (Arab) land is being renewed these days in Sakhnin, Wadi Arab, and the Triangle." He said this conspiracy is linked to the return of the Israeli Labour Party to power. He also spoke on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. He condemned efforts for resolving the Palestinian issue based on American proposals, which refuse to recognise the PLO, and said that "the US and Israel can start wars but the key to peace lies only in the hands of the Palestinian people; it will not come without an independent Palestinian state." Biton said the land expropriation policy is linked to a policy of discrimination against oriental Jews because of their dark skin colour. Biton affirmed that the

Arab-Israeli conflict can only be resolved by the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

Shahak compared the Israeli policy of land expropriation with South Africa's policy of apartheid. He said all the land under Israeli government control is closed to Arabs, just like in South Africa. Shahak spoke on the laws that prohibit Jews from selling land to Arabs in Israel and bars West Bank Arabs from staying overnight in Israeli towns.

Mi'ari also spoke on the value of land to the Arabs and called for a special fund to protect Arab land. Other speakers concentrated on the political situation and Israeli policy in the occupied West Bank, Gaza and south Lebanon. They all urged national unity as a means to

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Naqab Residents Celebrate Land Day

The outskirts of Rahat, a Beduin resettlement town in the Naqab, were thick with police on March 30, Land Day. Despite the police presence, no one was turned back from the checkpoint at the entrance to the town and there were no disturbances. A makeshift arena was set up with a large pick-up truck serving as the stage. A crowd of thousands gathered round, some seated on stools, to hear addresses. Groups of children played on the nearby ridge and sheep grazed on the

distance. The area in the front was reserved for the many journalists and photographers.

The event was organised by the Committee for the Defence of Land, a group from inside the green line. Representatives from Abna' al-Balad and its offshoot student group, the Progressive Student Movement, Rahat notables, Beduin leaders, and delegates from the Israeli Communist Party and the Prog-

ressive List for Peace (PLP) gave speeches. All the speakers condemned the Israeli policy of massive land confiscation in the Naqab. An example cited was the eviction of the Abu Sane'a tribe for purpose of building an airport. All decried the dreadful living conditions prevailing in the resettlement towns — unreliable water supply, no permits to build new houses, confiscation of their flocks by the green patrol, lack of educational facilities, the forced transfer of the

Laqiya secondary school, and frequent police violence against Naqab residents.

Taleb al-Sane'a, from the Beduin resettlement town of Laqiya, explained the importance of the event thus: "A tree without land cannot live, and neither can a people without land live."

MK Tawfiq Toubi attracted most of the media coverage.

Almost all the Israeli and foreign press left after he spoke, missing the scuffles that soon broke out between supporters of the PLP and Abna' al-Balad supporters.

There was a moment of silence in honour of all Palestinian martyrs, particularly those killed on Land Day. Members of the audience seemed displeased by the undercurrent of conflict between Palestinians and repeated calls for unity were made.